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QUEEN VICTORIA.

OUR last number had hardly appeared when with a suddenness entirely unexpected by the general public came the death of Queen Victoria and the accession of King Edward VII., events which for the time, to the exclusion of everything else, filled the hearts and minds of British subjects all over the world.

It is not our intention to add one more to the many articles which have attempted to do justice to a great and noble career, or to recount the benefits which the Queen rendered to her people throughout the longest reign in English history. It is a commonplace to say that the last sixty-four years have been a time of transition, of continual developement—political and social. The England and its Empire that Queen Victoria ceased to govern in January last were different indeed from the England and the Empire of June 1837. Over us all the great wave of democracy has never ceased flowing with a growing force, and the Empire which we see to-day is in truth a grand alliance of British democracies, amongst which the throne, far from suffering any diminution of its former grandeur, has become the symbol of our national unity, the one element of the constitution in which all British subjects wherever they may live have an equal share.

Of the Queen's great influence for good in politics and in political life the public has been told by those who know best the inner history of the politics of two generations; and perhaps a third generation will pass before the public itself is put in possession of many of the facts upon which her claim to statesmanship rests. Until that time comes the

people can hardly fully realise how much they have owed to the wisdom and true patriotism of the Queen.

The reign will take its place amongst the most prosperous in our annals—a time, on the whole, of peace and of steady progress; of increasing plenty and diminished hardships, especially among the poorer members of the community. In so long a period of our history it was inevitable that the nation should experience some sharp trials and some heavy disasters—the Irish Famine, the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the South African War, whose end, alas! the Queen was not to see. Her grandfather's reign, only three or four years shorter than her own, covered far greater extremes of national reverse and of national glory—from the loss of the American Colonies to the triumph over Napoleon.

It is not, however, of the great events of the Queen's reign so much as of the Queen herself that we here wish to speak. In some respects the most remarkable feature of that reign—one which distinguishes it from every other—is the position which the Queen won for herself in the hearts of her subjects. In a constitutional monarchy, where the Sovereign is said to reign and not to govern, it might have been supposed that the personality of the monarch was a matter of secondary importance, and that so long as the occupant of the throne was surrounded by upright, and wise, and able ministers, no more was required. Queen Victoria has shown that it belonged to the Sovereign, not to the Sovereign's Ministers, to identify the sentiment of popular patriotism with fervent attachment of a personal kind to the throne itself.

In her later years the Queen came to be regarded almost as the mother of her people. There was a personal sympathy between them, a mutual understanding of each other, unlike anything hitherto known in our history. In cases of individual suffering and distress no sympathy was more genuine and more ready than the Queen's. And in the great sorrows of her own life she had the consolation of knowing that her subjects grieved with her. No one ever had a higher sense of duty than the Queen. No one ever was more absolutely true. Great qualities these for Sovereign or for subject. But what more than all gave her unexampled hold upon the hearts of her people was the conviction, instilled into them by her whole life, that she shared with them in their sorrows and their joys—the feeling that they belonged to her and she to them.

The Queen's death united, as if it were a single family, the British race all over the world; nay, more than the British race, for in a world-wide Empire the loyalty and affection of British subjects of the Queen spread beyond the mere limits of blood relationship. A single national feeling for a common loss was evoked, greater and stronger far than those partial affections and prejudices, class jealousies, and local jarrings, which in ordinary times do so much to keep us apart. The Queen's death, like the Queen's life, helped to bring us together in the sentiment of a common nationality. Never, assuredly, has there been so unanimous an expression of deep feeling on the part of the public as on the occasion of the two days' funeral procession—the never-to-be-forgotten scene of the stately pageant in the Solent as the Royal yacht passed out of sight with the last glow of a winter sunset; and the silent tribute of the countless thousands who on the day following thronged the streets of London.

The curtain has fallen at last on the Queen's reign, and on the 'Victorian Age.' The new century has not been long in bringing its changes. We may, and do, look forward to future Sovereigns to show themselves worthy successors of her we mourn to-day; but centuries will come and go before Englishmen see on their ancient throne a greater and better Sovereign than Queen Victoria.

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THE preoccupation of the British people with the South African war has prevented them from realising the great strides made in recent years by the Dominion of Canada; and yet future historians of the British Empire will probably note the development of Canada as the brightest spot in the British Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century. India may be in a state of chronic famine, the clouds may have closed down again in South Africa, but in Canada the long depression seems to have ended, and this young offspring of the British stock, after its chequered struggles with space and climate, appears to be at last entering upon a path of unqualified prosperity. No one who has lately visited Canada can fail to be impressed by the new spirit that is everywhere supreme. Like a young giant refreshed with slumber, Canada is stepping eagerly on the forward path. Her trade is going up by leaps and bounds; her population is now steadily rising; her railways are creeping like a great network over her vast area; factories and paper-mills are rising at the sides of remote lakes and rivers; new lands are being settled in the far North-West; the glitter of gold is drawing crowds from all the world to the Rockies and the remote Yukon; and lastly—perhaps the greatest miracle of all—American capital, hitherto the great rival of Canadian, is being drawn across the border to help Canada in the development of her great estate. To use that famous figure

of Milton's, which he applied to the English nation at a similar period of hope and aspiration, Canada is like a young eagle : ' Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam.'

There is, indeed, no knowing to what heights she may yet soar. She has just tasted for the first time the honeyed potion of martial glory. She is young and proud, confident of her own strength, and reliant upon her own resources. Her feelings towards the old country are divided between a passionate loyalty and a sensitive independence. She is at that perilous age of youth when impulse may strengthen attachment or lead to sudden division. At such a moment it may be profitable to take some survey of this great country, both in its past history and in its present situation.

Canada, indeed, is essentially a country which can only be understood by those who know its history. Until recently the materials for this knowledge have been sadly lacking, but within the last few months the Cambridge University Press has supplied us with a valuable little handbook, both accurate and brief, by Sir John Bourinot. Sir John has been for many years the Clerk of the Canadian House of Commons. Before the Confederation of 1867 he was a close journalistic observer of the proceedings in the United Parliament. He is not a French Canadian, but of French Huguenot descent, and is thus well fitted to sympathise with both the races which share between them the fat lands of Eastern Canada. There have been many books on the earlier history of Canada, but none more fascinating than those romantic volumes in which the late Mr. Francis Parkman traces the history of the mighty conflict between the Gaul and the Anglo-Saxon in North America. That conflict came to an end in the early morning of September 13, 1759. On that historic dawn General Wolfe, with his little band of Englishmen, drifted down the River St. Lawrence to an unguarded landing-place, and climbed by a rugged and dangerous path, which even Montcalm had thought impregnable, to those level heights where, in a few minutes, the British Army won a new Empire for England. The fruits of this victory were not indeed reaped for four years—not until 1763, when the Treaty of Paris handed Canada over from France to Great Britain. In the interval, indeed, Quebec was nearly recaptured, and an English army under General Murray suffered defeat on almost the very spot where

General Wolfe had died victorious. Quebec was besieged by the French, and Montreal held out against Amherst. The war was only brought to an end by a relieving English fleet, which sailed up the St. Lawrence and saved Quebec. A few weeks later Montreal surrendered, the last town in Canada to give up its dreams of French empire. In 1763 —less than a century and a half ago—the British rule in Canada, which is the theme of Sir John Bourinot's book, really began.

We have dwelt thus on the circumstances of the war which gave us Canada because these events have virtually governed our policy ever since. The French Canadians, we may say, were conquered but never vanquished. Deserted by the French Monarchy, these colonies fought a brave and stubborn fight against the whole power of the British Empire, which the elder Pitt had rallied against them. A combination of naval and military strength finally brought about their submission, but the settlement of Canada after the Treaty of Paris was a recognition of their rights. It was rather a compromise between two brave peoples than a humiliation of one by the other. The nature of the British dominion then set up is aptly figured in a small stone monument which is erected at Quebec behind the Dufferin Terrace. That monument commemorates with one common pillar the deaths of Montcalm and General Wolfe on the same battle-field. 'In death they were not divided,' and we may almost say that by the mingled blood of these two brave men the union of French and British Canada has been cemented.

So far for the conquest; but the real problems of the British rule in Canada, made possible by the work of Wolfe and the elder Pitt, only began with the Treaty of Paris. For ten years Canada was governed under royal proclamation by military men. But even then the Government was far from military. The surrender of the French Canadian had been by no means unconditional. One of the conditions of capitulation, both at Quebec and Montreal, was the free exercise of the Catholic religion, and respect for religious privileges. On the whole these conditions were honourably kept, even during this military period. The communities of nuns were left undisturbed, and, although the priests were debarred from politics, they were not interfered with in their parochial work. The monastic orders were given less grace; but, though the Jesuits were gradually driven away, their estates passed into the hands of the Government for the good of the people. The Sulpitians were still

allowed to continue their work and develope their property. The French customs and laws seem to have been respected even during this period, and the French Canadians were placed on a status of commercial equality with the British. But, on the other hand, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 gave the French Canadians no right to their own civil law, and the small executive council nominated by the Governor under that Act seems to have consisted mainly of English Protestants. Military rule, even under General Murray—a kindly and humane Governor—is admitted by Sir John Bourinot to have been a complete failure, and the British did not obtain any real hold until the passing of the Quebec Act in 1774.

The Quebec Act is the real Magna Charta of the French Canadian, and it should be studied carefully by those British Canadians of Ontario who at the present hour are urging that the French language should be suppressed and the French civil law abolished. The Quebec Act was, in fact, drawn up by the lawyers of the time on the basis of the compromise agreed on at the capitulation of Montreal. It translated into law the terms of the battlefield. It sanctioned the 'free exercise' of the Catholic religion by the French Canadians subject to the King's supremacy. It confirmed the Roman Catholic priests in the possession of their rights and dues. It established the use of the French civil law as regulating 'all matters of controversy relative to property and civil rights,' while setting up the criminal law of England in matters of conduct. It placed the government of the Province of Quebec under a Governor and Legislative Council appointed by the Crown, though it made no provision for an elective assembly. Finally, it extended the Province of Quebec to the Ohio and Mississippi, thus embracing an immense tract of territory beyond the Alleghanies and confining the old American colonies to the seaboard. The addition of this country to Quebec, based on a logical endeavour to unite the old French possessions in one British province, was the cause of bitterness to the American colonies, and perhaps contributed somewhat to the War of Independence. This part of the Act was bitterly opposed by Lord Chatham, and was the only blot in a law which laid broad and deep the foundations of Canadian loyalty. Though the Act did not contain any provision for constituting a Canadian Assembly, the first legislative council appointed was by no means wholly British. It contained eight French Canadians amongst its twenty-two members.

This, of course, in no way represented the proportions of the population. At that time the 60,000 French Canadians taken over by the British Government in 1763 had increased to at least 80,000, while the British population of Canada was limited to some 400 souls. But it seemed to the statesmen of the day impossible to grant self-government to a country where the British population was still so small and where the vast mass of the French population still cherished such very recent memories of French rule.

These proportions of population between the two races were soon to be greatly altered by events beyond the border. The steady resistance of Canada to American pressure during the War of Independence, from 1775 to 1783, is, no doubt, one of the most remarkable features of Canadian history. The Americans naturally expected that a colony so recently conquered and still so overwhelmingly French in its sympathies would join them in their secession from the British Crown. But they were entirely disappointed. The French Canadians not only held aloof, indifferent to the appeals of the American revolutionists, but when General Montgomery invaded Canada and attacked Quebec they repulsed and slew him. Even when France joined the revolting colonies, Canada showed no sign of rebellion. The conciliatory policy of the Quebec Act doubtless inclined the French Canadians to loyalty, but it is more probable that they were alienated from the colonies by the long and bitter memories of the earlier wars, when the Americans proved the backbone of the English invading forces. Washington himself passed through his baptism of fire in an unsuccessful attack on Fort Duquesne. The French Canadians hated the near Americans far more than the distant English. There was also a deep religious cleavage between the peoples. The Protestant denunciations of the revolting colonies made every French Canadian priest an active ally of the British connection. Lastly, the French Canadians had never cherished any very deep love for the home country, which had always treated their wishes with a capricious mixture of despotism and neglect.

The final result of the War of Independence presents, indeed, a paradox. While the British colonies broke loose, the French colony became more British. So far from joining in the rebellion or being weakened in its connection, Canada emerged from the war a far more loyal and assured possession of the British Crown.

This result was brought about by that extensive immigra-

tion of American loyalists after the war, driven from the now independent colonies, which resulted in the settlement of large districts, hitherto unpeopled, by a new and distinct class of colonists who have ever since clung to the name of 'United Empire Loyalists.' Whatever may be said of the action of these colonists during the War of Independence, they at any rate proved as by fire their loyalty to the British connection, and were not likely to feel less loyal after their expulsion from the States. It is difficult to estimate the precise number of these immigrants. But Sir John Bourinot, who has had access to the State documents, fixes it at 35,000 men, women, and children, in addition to many thousands of negroes and servants, most of whom were afterwards deported to Sierra Leone. Of these, at least 25,000 went to the maritime colonies and founded the Province of New Brunswick, where self-government was instituted as early as 1784. The remaining 10,000 settled in the valley of the St. Lawrence, and formed townships along the banks of the great river, while many settled on the shores of Lake Erie, and helped to build up the great modern town of Toronto, settling westward as far as the Niagara district. The immigration of this great population, passionately attached to the British connection in virtue of what they had suffered on its behalf, opened up a second period in the British government of Canada. It strengthened the racial hold of Great Britain, and thus enabled the Home Government to expedite that period of responsible rule which Lord North had postponed to a distant future. 'The United Empire Loyalists,' as the new emigrants were called, were presented with generous grants of land by the British Government, and, being unable to return, proved the best type of settlers. Their descendants still form the backbone of Canadian loyalty.

The agitation for self-government now took a much more serious form, as the British immigrants, with all their loyalty, were not inclined to put up with the loss of the political power which they had possessed in the southern colonies. The result, after seven years of pressure, was seen in the Constitutional Act of 1791. By that Act the younger Pitt divided Canada into two provinces—Upper and Lower—each possessing the right of electing one chamber for self-governing purposes. Over these assemblies there were still to be legislative councils nominated by the King for life, and retaining large powers of veto. Thus the gift of responsible Government was not complete. But the

compromise between the French and English was further developed by giving certain self-governing powers to both. The sanctions of the Quebec Act were renewed, both in regard to the Roman Catholic religion and the French civil law. While respecting these fundamental conditions of Canadian Government, the Act carried a step further—and probably as far as the times would allow—the development of representative government.

Under this Act Canada developed peacefully from 1792 to 1812, enjoying a happy detachment from the troubles of the French Revolution and the chaos of the great Napoleonic wars. But this detachment was not to last for ever. The stress of the great struggle which Great Britain was carrying on for her naval supremacy finally brought her into conflict with the United States, and the war which followed in 1812–15 chiefly took the form of an invasion of Canada. It is not for us here to go into the rights and wrongs of that unhappy struggle. The prohibition by Great Britain of the American carrying trade in the goods of the enemy produced furious resentment in the United States, and the anti-British policy of the democratic leaders finally forced Madison into a war which was never keenly supported by the Northern States. Perhaps, if the causation of this war is to be laid anywhere, it must be at the door of Napoleon, who, for his own purposes, ingeniously fomented hostility between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Whatever the origin of the war, there is no doubt that the result was a great surprise to the United States. It seemed inevitable that a population of six and a half million whites should make an easy conquest of a vast territory easily exposed to attack and inhabited by less than 500,000. On the one side was a militia force available for service numbering from 400,000 to 500,000 and a regular army of 34,000. On the other was a scattered militia numbering little more than 10,000 in both provinces. The forces of the United States invaded Canada with absolute confidence in their ultimate success. Henry Clay spoke without hesitation about negotiating terms of peace at Quebec or Halifax. But America forgot that she was arousing in the Canadians precisely the same spirit that brought her successfully through the War of Independence. The Canadians were defending their homes and hearths against a scarcely veiled enterprise of conquest and annexation. They fought with courage and skill, and Nature was on their side. The vast

distances of that great land made the capture of capitals of little importance, and the Americans did not improve their cause when they attempted to awe by incendiaryism the foe whom they could not conquer with the sword. The burning of the Parliament House at York—the modern Toronto—is still a bitter memory in Canada, and it united Frenchman and Englishman against the invaders. The war brought to the United States neither profit nor glory, while Canada emerged from it far more closely united in race and more deeply attached than ever to the British connection.

The struggle of 1812–15 postponed for some years the internal agitation which was bound to come before Canada could emerge on to the higher stage of responsible government. The Constitutional Act of 1791, while giving to Canada a partial grant of responsible government, had left the ultimate control in the hands of nominees of the Crown. The expenses of the war aggravated the situation, and for the next twenty years the history of Canada is that of a long series of constitutional struggles between the councils and the assemblies, turning round the question of controlling supplies. Though the Council could nominate officials, the Assembly still had some control over their salaries. The struggle was aggravated in Upper Canada by the existence of an official group who obtained control of the government, and were familiarly known under the title of ‘The Family Compact.’ But both in Lower and Upper Canada the root question was essentially the same as that between the British House of Commons and the Stuart kings in the seventeenth century. History repeats itself, and the British stock in Canada, allied with the French, went through the same political stage as the British stock in England two centuries before. The Imperial Government at first refused to give way, and could conceive of no remedy excepting the assertion of law and order. In reply, the Canadian Assembly refused for several years to pay the salaries of the public service. In 1836, therefore, Lord John Russell passed an Act through the Imperial Parliament voting 140,000*l.* for this purpose out of the provincial treasuries, thereby overriding the self-governing powers of the colony.

Canada was immediately thrown into a state of rebellion, which lasted for some two years, and ushered in the reign of Victoria very much as the Boer War has ushered in the reign of Edward VII. The two incidents are not to be compared in importance. The Canadian rebellion was little more than a sputter of spasmodic and confused fighting,

which never rose to the dignity of a great struggle. Its history has often been told, and is now exciting a natural interest in connection with the South African problem. To readers of Canadian history the importance of the rebellion does not lie so much in its military suppression, which was never a difficult task, as in the fact that it resulted in the mission of Lord Durham and the ultimate concession of complete self-government to Canada under the terms of his famous report. The rebellion was suppressed in 1838. But these were the days of bold and rapid legislation. In 1840 the Whigs brought in a measure for giving Canada complete and responsible self-government, which became law on February 10, 1841. Under this Act the two Canadas were united and placed under the double rule of a legislative council and a legislative assembly, but with the grant of control both over ministries and finance to the lower and popular chamber.

This brings us to the final period of Canadian political evolution. The Act of 1841 settled once and for all the question of Canadian self-government. It was the offspring of that now despised period in our political history, when some English statesmen faced with complacency the prospect of colonial secession, and were quite willing to let the Colonies do as they liked, as long as they did not take up the time and energies of the home country. It is written that those who lose themselves shall find themselves; and it almost looks as if that deep law was working behind the Whig policy of indifference towards the Colonies. It is probable that if the home Government had punished the Canadian rebellion with a long period of Crown government the unrest would have continued. If they had irritated the French Canadian with talk of 'mastery' and 'conquest' it is unlikely that we should have their loyalty to-day. And yet human nature is so constituted, and political foresight is so rare, that these mistakes were probably avoided only by our indifference. If we had cultivated that possessive pride in our Colonies which goes to-day by the name of 'Imperialism,' we should probably have lost Canada after 1838. In our first panic, indeed, we suspended the 1791 Constitution, and after the second outbreak the military authorities on the spot, angered by the apparent failure of Lord Durham's capricious clemency, hanged a few rebels under martial law. But the Whig Government at home stopped all this. Not only did the grant of self-government follow immediately on the suppression of the rebellion, but the Colonies themselves

were consulted in the framing of the measure. By its provisions both English and French rebels, the rebels of both Upper and Lower Canada, secured almost everything for which they had fought. In 1845 the rebels were compensated for the loss of property, and by 1848 every individual rebel had been amnestied. Instead of being encouraged to further rebellions, both 'Reformers' and French Canadians have ever since remained loyal and law-abiding citizens.

The liberty of self-government was gradually extended to the other Canadian colonies which had grown up since 1791. But it was now becoming clear to Canadian statesmen that there was a further problem before them. It was not enough that the Canadian colonies should be self-governing: it was also necessary that they should be united. Stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, across the whole breadth of America, from Nova Scotia on the Eastern coast to British Columbia on the West, it was inevitable that the Canadian Colonies should drift apart unless some steps were taken to tie them together by both a material and political bond. The barrier of the Rocky Mountains shut off British Columbia from the central colonies, and the very difference of climate divided the colonists of the sea and the North-West. When the journey across the continent was a matter of months it was impossible to hope that the population should be brought together by frequent intercourse. The coast colonies were absorbed in their fisheries: the interior colonies thought of nothing but agriculture. Politics were becoming rapidly more provincial, and the size of the colonies left no scope for ambitious men. Without a railway or a common assembly the two chief nerve-centres of Canada were still wanting.

The agitation for a confederation went on all through the early sixties. It was brought to a head by the difficulty of securing a stable government in the province of united Canada. The Act of 1840, while uniting Upper and Lower Canada, according to Lord Durham's recommendation, had established a fixed proportion between the representatives of the French and English districts in the united province. But the British population was steadily increasing, and the reformers of Upper Canada as steadily agitated for a division between the two districts. The lead in this agitation was taken by the 'Toronto Globe,' which was then edited by Mr. George Brown, the most powerful journalist Canada has ever produced. Within two years there were as many as five successive ministries in the Canadian Parliament, and it seemed impossible that the government could be carried on.

In 1864 a Committee of the Canadian Assembly declared in favour of confederation, and a Coalition Government was formed to carry it out. A similar movement had taken place in Nova Scotia, and a conference was arranged between delegates from Canada and the three maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. It was decided to hold a further conference at Quebec, and there, in the autumn, at the famous Quebec Convention of 1864, the main lines of Canadian confederation were definitely laid down.

The ruling spirit in this Convention was, undoubtedly, Sir John Macdonald, who is probably responsible, as far as we can tell in the absence of any report of the proceedings, for the main outlines of the present Canadian Constitution. That Constitution is borrowed partly from America and partly from Great Britain. The federal idea which underlies it is American, and the provinces of Canada were probably suggested to Canadians by the analogy of the States of America. But there are certain conspicuous contrasts which mark the influence of British ideas. The provinces have a power of direct taxation, but use it to a very small extent. Their finance is based upon a system of subsidies from the central Government, rising with the growth of population. These subsidies are supplemented by local revenues from lands, forests, and mines, while undertakings of national importance, like canals, harbour works, and railways, are paid for by the central Government. Similarly, the administration of justice is centralised in the Dominion authorities, who appoint the judges of the superior, district, and county courts in the provinces as well as in the Dominion. The provincial courts have complete control of criminal justice, but appeals in all civil cases are allowed from provincial courts as well as from the Supreme Court to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. But, apart from these details, there is a broad governing difference between the Canadian and American Constitutions. In Canada all powers not expressly reserved to the provinces still belong to the central Government, though the definitions of the North American Act are so precise as to leave a very small margin for settlement under constitutional law. In the United States, on the other hand, all powers not expressly claimed by the central Government are possessed by the individual State. The distinction is familiar to constitutional students, but is worth emphasising; for it means that Canada is a closer confederation, more tightly

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bound together and more highly centralised, but perhaps with rather less play for individual initiative, and with less of that daring habit of striking out independent developments that makes at once the charm and the peril of the United States. Still, Canada possesses in her municipal institutions a great reserve of freedom which gives her citizens at present ample scope for their self-governing activities.

The final steps for confederation were rapidly accomplished. The outlines of the Bill were drawn up in Canada during 1866, and the scheme was adopted by the Imperial Parliament and passed into law as the 'British North American Act' in 1867. The title in the original draft of the Bill was the 'Kingdom of Canada'; but Sir John Bourinot tells us that the change of the title to 'Dominion' came from a member of the Imperial Ministry, who was actuated by respect for the susceptibilities of American statesmen. The Confederation at first consisted only of the contracting provinces, Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, but gradually the rest of British North America came within the Act—in 1871 British Columbia, in 1873 Prince Edward Island; while in 1875 the first step was taken for forming those North-West Territories which have since become the link between the Far West and Central Canada. In 1868 Canada had bought out the administrative rights of the Hudson Bay Company for 300,000*l.*, and the new province of Manitoba was formed in 1869. Although at first the Dominion Government had considerable trouble with the French half-breeds, who objected to coming under British rule, the country was gradually pacified, and between 1871 and 1877 a series of treaties were made between the Canadian Government and the Indian tribes by which they surrendered their territory in return for certain privileges in the shape of land reserves and annual payments of money. In 1878 an Imperial Order in Council was passed annexing to the Dominion all British possessions in North America not then included within the Confederation. Thus finally was completed the formation of that great community from sea to sea, stretching 3,500 miles from east to west, and 1,400 miles from north to south, while it embraces an area of 3,519,000 square miles, or very little less than the whole area of the United States, including Alaska. At present the only State which still stands outside the Confederation is Newfoundland.

The final chapter of Canadian history is the formation of

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the Canadian Pacific Railway. When British Columbia came into the Dominion in 1871, its adhesion to the Confederation was conditional on the formation of a railway from sea to sea, which the Dominion Government pledged itself to commence within two years from the date of union and to complete within ten. The politics of Canada during the next few years turn very largely round the construction of this railway. It proved altogether too great a task for the Canadian Government at that period of its development. The railway was opposed by the Liberal party, and the scandal of 1873 struck a serious blow at the whole project. Sir John Macdonald was then discovered to have accepted large sums of money as electioneering funds from Sir Hugh Allan, of Montreal, a millionaire, who was then negotiating with the Government for a charter for the construction of the railway. Naturally this threw the whole scheme into disrepute. The Liberal Government under Mr. Mackenzie, which succeeded Sir John Macdonald in 1873, lasted until 1878, but when it fell the railway was still only in its initial stages. It is true that the Liberal Government had carried out a vast amount of preliminary surveying and had located the route to be followed. It had also almost completed contracts for 650 miles in British Columbia and between Winnipeg and Lake Superior costing over \$30,000,000. But it was a period of great commercial depression, with falling revenue and deficits, and the resources of the country seemed unequal to the task. At any rate, a big scheme for its completion was successfully opposed by Mr. Edward Blake, who is now a prominent member of the Irish party in the Imperial Parliament. The British Columbians deeply resented this failure of the central Government to carry out their bargain. The Columbian Legislature actually passed a resolution for separation from the Dominion unless the terms of the union were fulfilled. The first task of the new Government formed by Sir John Macdonald in October 1878 was, therefore, necessarily the completion of the railway. Between 1873 and 1878 the country had learned enough to realise the gigantic nature of the task, and now there was far less opposition to handing it over to a private company. This was done in the session of 1880-1, and the new Canadian Pacific Company finished the task of carrying the railway from Montreal to the Pacific within five years. By 1885 the Canadian Dominion possessed a railway which linked Canada from sea to sea, and the 'Canadian Pacific' came

into existence as the greatest railway company of the world, and one of the most powerful corporations. Canada had to pay a heavy price for delegating this work to private hands. It was obliged to hand over to the 'C.P.R.', as the great railway is commonly called in Canada, 25,000,000 acres of land, besides making it a cash grant of \$25,000,000, and the 650 miles of railway already built. During construction the Government was forced to make to the Company a great loan. At present the 'C.P.R.' owns nearly 8,000 miles of railway and governs 28,000 *employés*. It is an *imperium in imperio*. It can fix the rates without challenge, except from the mild competition of the Northern Pacific, on all goods from the great North-West; it can make or unmake townships by the disposal of its stations; it may be almost said to have the future of the North-West in the palm of its hand. But it was indispensable to Canadian confederation, and forms almost as necessary a link to the great Canadian provinces as the Dominion Government itself. Perhaps some day the railway may be in Government hands; but hitherto no party in Canadian politics has ventured to advocate its purchase.

We have now completed our review of Canadian history under the British occupation, and we can turn with profit from the past to the present. Since 1868 the annals of Canada have had that blessed freedom from incident which, according to the proverb, makes the happiness of a country. Beyond a few skirmishes with the Red River half-breeds and a few scares of war with the United States, there have been none of those sensational episodes which form the 'headlines' of history and divert students from the steady contemplation of social growth. If we are to judge the prosperity of a country by figures, there can be little doubt of the estimate we should form of the results of confederation to Canada.* But the progress of the country is not to be measured only by statistics. There is a vital growth in every aspect of Canadian industry. The St. Lawrence is now, during the summer, a busy river, while Montreal is developing into a great shipping port, where the Government are

* Since 1868 the trade of the country has grown from over \$131,000,000 to over \$881,000,000 in 1900, while the national revenue has risen from \$14,000,000 to \$47,000,000 in 1899. The railways have grown from 2,278 miles in 1868 to 17,250 miles in 1899. The population has increased from 3,485,000 in 1871 to an estimated 5,400,000 in 1900.

at present building extensive harbour works. The canals between the great lakes have been deepened to fourteen feet, and, besides facilitating and cheapening the transportation from the interior to the coast, promise to become avenues of communication for no mean shipping trade between Europe and the West. Everywhere new factories are springing up, and everywhere the railways are developing to meet their needs. Mining enterprise is searching the whole West for its vast hidden riches.* A new branch of the 'C.P.R.'—a marvel of construction—has just been created over the Crow's Nest Pass, opening up mining districts in the very heart of the Rockies. Another wonderful line now winds across the high Skagway Pass to that *Ultima Thule* of Canada—the Dawson City in the Yukon. During the last few months a new transport line has been opened connecting Port Parry in Georgian Bay directly with Quebec, where grain elevators are being built to rival Chicago.

This outflow of railway enterprise is manfully supported by other branches of the State with equal zeal. The Ministry of Agriculture has organised dairy farms throughout Central Canada on the system which Mr. Horace Plunkett is now extending in Ireland. The produce is kept fresh by a vast and complex system of refrigeration, both on the creameries themselves, on the railways from the creameries to the ports, and in the ships from those ports to Liverpool. This work is all supervised by the central Department of Agriculture, which in Canada does not consider its functions confined to the muzzling of dogs and the slaying of swine. The provincial Ministries of Agriculture are organising comprehensive systems of education, and thus the Canadian farmer is well equipped and supported by every resource of the State in his friendly but candid desire to cut out the British farmer.

The results of all these endeavours may be briefly illustrated from the statistics of Canadian exports. Since 1896 the value of Canadian provisions exported to Great Britain has increased from \$20,000,000 to \$40,000,000. Since 1868 the export of Canadian cheese has increased from \$620,000 to \$19,856,000, while the export of Canadian butter has increased from \$1,698,000 to \$5,122,000, and of Canadian

* The mineral output of Canada amounted in value to \$38,000,000 in 1898, and \$48,000,000 in 1899. The increase is chiefly in gold—from \$13,000,000 to \$21,000,000. (Statistical Year-Book, p. 130.)

bacon and hams from \$647,000 in 1890 to \$13,000,000 in 1900. If we turn to the British trade returns we shall see that nearly all this produce comes to Great Britain. With the exception of a small amount, which seems to have gone to the United States, the Trade Returns show that nearly the whole export of Canadian apples came to Great Britain during 1898.* They also show that Canada was easily first among all countries in its exports of cheese.† In butter it is only exceeded by Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and France.

The latest Canadian trade returns for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, show that the imports to Canada from Great Britain have reached the figure of \$44,789,730, being an increase of \$7,700,000, while the exports from Canada to Great Britain were of the value of \$97,000,000, an increase of nearly \$8,000,000. The total trade increase amounts to \$33,000,000.‡

* The total import of apples into England during 1898 amounted to \$5,392,000. The total imported from Canada was \$2,182,000. The total export of apples from Canada in 1898 was \$3,599,000. (Canadian Statistical Year-Book, pp. 100-122.)

† Canada exported \$14,326,000 of cheese. The country next in scale, the United States, can lay claim to only \$4,898,000. (Statistical Year-Book.)

‡ A recent return issued by the High Commissioner for Canada shows that Canada's aggregate trade with Great Britain in 1900, on the basis of goods entered for consumption and exported, amounted to \$152,526,098, as compared with \$106,639,690 in 1897, when the new tariff of the present Government went into force, showing an increase of \$45,886,408. The exports to Great Britain last year totalled \$107,736,368, as against \$77,227,502 three years previously, or a betterment of \$30,508,866. The imports of goods entered for consumption from Great Britain last year were \$44,789,730, whereas in 1897 they were only \$29,412,188, showing an increase in favour of 1900 of \$15,377,542. Canada's aggregate trade with the United States, on the basis of goods entered for consumption and exported, amounted to \$178,463,401, an increase of \$67,440,888 when compared with 1897, and \$21,554,480 in excess of the Dominion's aggregate trade with Great Britain. Canadian exports to the United States increased between 1897 and 1900 by only \$19,245,551, whereas the increase in the imports of goods entered for consumption was \$48,195,337, or two and a-half times as much as the exports. The large increase in the aggregate trade with the United States is, therefore (says the High Commissioner), made up mainly of imports, consisting for the most part of raw materials in free goods for the purpose of manufacturing, which could not be obtained from Britain. 'Such large importations of raw materials and free goods denote a very striking activity in manufacturing.'

Here we have ample confirmation for all those impressions of abounding prosperity which every recent traveller has brought from the Canadian Dominion. There does not at present seem to be any sign of abatement in this forward movement, which is giving a new life and hope to the population of Canada.

Having thus briefly summarised the present features of Canadian progress, it is, perhaps, worth while to turn our eyes backward once more and to trace some of the forces that have been at work to produce this sudden move forward. We shall be wrong if we imagine that the progressive movement has been in any sense steady or continuous since the year of federation. Canada is only gradually emerging from a deep depression which puzzled her statesmen and ruined many of her merchants. This modern depression dates from the year of the McKinley Tariff—1894. It is not for us to decide on the merits of the great fiscal struggle that has been going on between Canada and the United States since the repeal of the reciprocity treaty in 1866. That treaty had lasted for twelve years, and it had admirable results on both the commercial and the political relations of the two great communities of North America. During the thirteen years of the treaty the trade between the two countries rose from over \$33,000,000 in 1854 to over \$80,000,000 in 1866. The treaty had conceded free trade between British North America and the United States in products of the forest, mine, and sea. It permitted the Americans to navigate the St. Lawrence and the canals of Canada, while it gave the Canadians the right to navigate Lake Michigan, and extended to the fishermen of both countries certain common rights of fishing on the sea-coasts without regard to distance from the shore. Such a treaty was an invaluable source of goodwill between the two nations, and few people will dispute that when the Americans repealed it they struck one of the heaviest blows ever delivered against the development of North America. But its repeal was one of the disastrous results of the War of Secession and of the state of feeling produced in the Northern States by the friendliness of Great Britain towards the South. Canada had to bear the brunt of this resentment, and thus paid not the least of the many penalties which she has had to endure for her loyalty.

For many years Canada hankered after a renewal of the reciprocity treaty. In 1865 and 1866 Canadian delegates

were prepared to make large concessions, but were met with obstinate resistance, and reluctantly came to the conclusion that Congress had no desire for reciprocity. Other efforts were made in succeeding years, but after a time, if only from pride, Canadian statesmen were fain to give over the endeavour. Then began an inevitable development. Reciprocity began to give place to retaliation. As the Americans became more protectionist, so the Canadians followed in the same path. The pride of the new Confederation gave a new spirit to Canada, with which the United States had perhaps scarcely reckoned. The Liberals of Canada were still strong free-traders, and the Mackenzie Administration, which lasted from 1873 to 1878, postponed for a time the final decision. But, unhappily for Canada, the free-trade administration of Mackenzie was accompanied by a deep depression of trade. People rapidly argue from effect to cause, and it is perhaps natural that the depression of those years should have been put down to free-trade. At any rate, Sir John Macdonald, the Conservative leader, was far too good an electioneerer to miss his opportunity. In 1878 he came forward with a strong resolution in favour of what he called a 'National Policy.' That 'National Policy' was nothing more nor less than Protection. Sir John Macdonald swept the polls, and in 1879 he established a strong fiscal barrier in Canada against the influx of American trade. The tariff of 1879 has been often changed, but it still remains as the ground-work of Canadian finance.

Thus began the first great division in the commercial relations of Canada and the United States. Canada had replied to the States, and now in the beaten course of retaliation the next step lay with the States. After many smaller essays, the final and historic step was taken during 1894 in the McKinley Tariff. This terrible tariff, virtually a prohibitive tax on a large number of imports, practically destroyed several great Canadian industries. The southern districts of Ontario had been producing great crops of barley for the American market, and the land had been largely used for that produce. But barley was now virtually excluded from the States, and the farmers of Southern Ontario found themselves without any market for their produce. With a wonderful adaptability, this great farming population has turned from barley-growing to dairying and fruit-farming, and has thus managed to avoid extermination. But an actual war could scarcely have caused more resentment in Canada than the McKinley Tariff, which, almost at

one blow, annihilated that movement in favour of annexation of which Mr. Goldwin Smith has always been the grim and stalwart chief.

What the United States lost Great Britain gained. No policy could have played more completely into the hands of the friends of the British connection than the policy of the United States towards Canada in this and certain other respects. The American politicians of the Northern States, who had virtually controlled relations with Canada, had perhaps imagined that a policy of unfriendliness would effect what a policy of sympathy had failed to bring about. If Canada, so perhaps some of them argued, would not come into the union from love, she might come in from the discomfort and annoyance resulting from separation. But if they so calculated, these Americans seem again to have forgotten the lessons of their own history. Perhaps they also forgot that Canada, being a very small nation, would inevitably fall back upon her big brother, Great Britain, to resist the fiscal enmity of the United States. Failing to find a market in America, they would look for it across the seas. Threatened by commercial annihilation from their near neighbour, they would fall back upon their partnership in the British Empire, and against the great overwhelming alliance of states which faced them across the border they would set their own membership of a larger confederation which stretches round the world. That, at any rate, is an approximate description of what has happened since 1894.

This attraction towards Great Britain has created, as it were, a new ellipse in the orbit of Canadian policy. It has for the moment superseded the old division between Protectionists and Free-traders; for, in face of the attitude of the United States every Canadian is a Protectionist. National dignity alone makes him so. After the victory of 1896, when Laurier at last brought the Liberals back to power after an exile of nearly twenty years, it is true that the victorious party came into power very largely on the free-trade question. Canada was suffering from a deep depression that followed on the McKinley Tariff, and there was a natural reaction against the 'national policy.' That policy had no argument in its favour except success, and when high protection failed to bring prosperity in its train even its own friends turned against it. But though Sir Wilfrid Laurier came into power advocating free trade, he soon found that the swing of opinion was not sufficiently great to

to carry him the whole distance. Beyond a slight revision and reduction, the tariff was left alone. Mr. Goldwin Smith, who entertains a very healthy contempt for opportunism in any shape or form, now denounces Laurier as a deserter of his principles. But let us see what happened. One of Laurier's first steps was to send commissioners to Washington in order to persuade the American politicians to negotiate with Canada with a view to reviving the old reciprocity treaty. In this action Laurier was faithfully pursuing a line of fiscal policy consistent with the principles of Liberalism in Canada during the previous ten years. In 1891 the Canadian Liberals had advocated commercial union with the United States, and had been denounced as traitors for their pains. 'A Briton I am, and a Briton I will remain,' was the famous cry of the Conservative leader, and that cry had carried him into power. The policy of commercial union was killed in that election, although Mr. Goldwin Smith has continued to advocate it with an austere indifference to opinion. But politicians cannot be indifferent to opinion if they wish to survive: and in the election of 1896 commercial union had become commercial reciprocity. It was to carry out this policy that the Canadian Commissioners journeyed to Washington after the Liberal victory of 1896.

But the American Government was unfortunately still inspired with the same hostility to free trade with Canada which had brought about the failure of the McKenzie negotiations in 1874. The Canadians now assert that their Commissioners were treated with scant courtesy in this final attempt to break down the commercial barriers between the two American communities. At any rate, the visit proved an epoch in Canadian Liberal policy. The Commissioners returned to Canada empty-handed, and since 1897 there has been no talk of reciprocal trade with the United States. Laurier has turned his back on that policy, and adopted instead the policy of preferential trade with Great Britain. This preference began with the Budget of 1897. It amounted at first to a preference of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., then of 25, and has now reached to a preference of $33\frac{1}{3}$ on all British imports compared with foreign goods. In other words, British imports are granted an advantage in reduction of one-third over all other goods entering into Canada. Owing to the operation of the Belgian and German treaties Canada was at first obliged to admit Belgian and German goods on the same terms. But on July 31, 1898, the British Government determined the German and Belgian treaties, and since

that date the preference has operated freely in favour of British goods.

Opponents of the preference have argued that it has produced little effect on the trend of trade between Canada and Great Britain. This is not quite the case, as the Canadian Blue Books show. British imports into Canada have risen from \$29,000,000 in 1897 to \$44,000,000 in 1900.* But an even clearer proof is the state of feeling in Canada. For the preferential tariff is not by any means universally popular in the Dominion. It is increasingly unpopular among the cotton manufacturers, and it is only really liked by the traders in imported woollen and cotton goods. In the matter of machinery, indeed, America has such immense advantages over Great Britain that the preferential tariff has virtually produced no effects at all.†

But it is after all impossible to measure the importance of the preferential tariff by effects alone. This preference is really the outward and visible sign, the external political sanction, of a commercial tendency which has been going on since 1894. Ever since that date Canadian trade, breaking in vain against the tariff of the United States, has been diverted to the shores of Great Britain. The total exports to Great Britain between 1894 and 1899 rose from \$60,000,000 to \$85,000,000, while the exports to the United States increased only from \$29,000,000 to \$34,000,000—less than the normal increase in proportion to the population. The contrast is even more striking when we descend from the general figures of the trade in certain of the industries. The trade in lumber, the produce of the forest, and still the great unexhausted resource of Canada, has been largely diverted from the United States to Great Britain. This has been even more the case with agricultural

* There is, indeed, a similar increase in the exports from the United States, which have gone up from \$50,000,000 in 1895 to \$88,000,000 in 1899. But the British imports were steadily declining before 1896, and the preferential tariff seems at least to have checked the decline. The analytical tables clearly show that it has improved the position of the British manufacturer with regard to certain woollen and cotton goods.

† The Blue Books show that the United States still possess almost a monopoly in trade of machinery into Canada; for instance, America exported 2,562 lawn-mowers as against 11 by Great Britain, and Great Britain only 653 hoes as against 27,323 by the United States. These proportions are probably fixed by the cost of carriage and the greater manufacturing ingenuity of the Americans.

produce.* In the matter of provisions the contrast is most apparent of all. The total increase in the export of Canadian provisions between the years 1896 and 1900 was from \$21,000,000 to \$39,540,000. Now this increase took place entirely in the exports to Great Britain, which rose from \$20,000,000 to \$39,160,000.† In this species, therefore, Great Britain has now almost a monopoly of Canadian trade.

Thus we find ourselves in the presence of a great economic tendency which is acting like a sort of new commercial Gulf Stream, bringing a warm current of Canadian trade across the Atlantic back to the shores of Great Britain. Such a tendency is always reciprocal. In proportion as Canadian goods come to England, so British goods go back to Canada, whether the tariff be preferential or not. And as trade increases between the two countries, so friendly feeling grows with it, and the spirit of loyalty, which was waning during the years of depression, suddenly takes on a new life and vigour. There have been, doubtless, other causes at work, but it would be an interesting matter for anyone to discover the precise part which the McKinley Tariff played in inducing Canada to send contingents to the help of Great Britain in her South African war. The outside observer can only note that this policy of sending contingents, now frankly adopted by the Canadian Government, is entirely opposed to the Liberal policy in Canada of sixteen years ago, when Canada refused to send a contingent to the Sudan. The British people will, naturally, be grateful for the change.

So far our review of the present state of Canada leads us to very satisfactory conclusions. We have discovered a deep economic tendency, which is drawing Canada to Great Britain far more surely than any sentiment, though sentiment is, doubtless, playing its part as an ally in the work.

* Since 1894—the year of the Tariff Bill—the exports of lumber from Canada to the United States have gone down from \$13,308,196 to \$9,921,754 in 1899, while the export value of the same article to Great Britain has gone up from \$11,475,692 to \$15,777,996. In agricultural produce the export to the United States has gone down from \$4,132,105 to \$1,149,686, while the exports to the United Kingdom have gone up from \$15,443,211 to \$18,447,543. (*Canadian Trade and Commercial Returns.*)

† *Tables of the Trade and Navigation of Canada for the year ended June 30, 1900.*

Business and sentiment are far more closely connected than most of us will admit, and we believe that it is an undoubted fact that the sale of Canadian butter has increased since the sending of the Canadian contingent. The Canadians mark with satisfaction the fact that Canadian produce is no longer marked in English shops as 'American,' and Canadian statesmen shrewdly calculate that the cost of equipping their troops will be amply repaid by the increase in British trade. It would be churlish, indeed, and ignorant to deny the sincerity and depth of Canadian loyalty. With a large part of the population, 'the United Empire loyalists,' it is ingrained in the blood and handed down from generation to generation. But the fact remains that whereas ten years ago there was a small movement in Canada in favour of annexation to the United States, and a stronger movement in favour of commercial union, those movements are now both dead. No one who looks at the matter impartially can deny that they have been killed as much by the hostile policy of the United States as by any wisdom on the part of Great Britain.

But it is not merely the McKinley Tariff that has divided the two countries. There have been a series of disputes on all those questions which must arise between two countries whose frontiers touch alone more than 3,200 miles of territory. The most important of these in the past were those known as the Oregon and Maine boundary disputes, by both of which Canada still considers that she has lost great tracts of territory to the United States. There have been the numerous fishery questions, of which the Behring Sea question has been only the most conspicuous. The result of the arbitration on that question was, of course, the payment of \$460,000 to Canada by the United States, one of the few cases in which Canada has come out winner in a boundary dispute. The history of the Alaskan dispute has been far less satisfactory. The boundary is still unfixed, and the *modus vivendi* at present arranged between the territories, though without prejudice to the Canadian contention, is based upon the American interpretation of the old Russian treaty. The statesmen of the United States show no inclination to accept the Canadian proposal for arbitration or to compromise the differences in the boundaries drawn up by either country. The Anglo-American Commission of 1889 and 1899, which promised to effect so much in bringing the two countries together, unhappily broke up without any result in consequence of

the failure to come to terms on this question of the Alaska boundary.*

Nor can it be said with any candour that the Americans have suffered from the refusal of Canada to negotiate on any point in the meantime. For the most part the United States has more to gain by leaving these questions open than by settling them. Being the larger and stronger, a *laissez-faire* policy suits her. In regard to the fisheries, the American fishers are at present carrying on their trade along the southern shores of the great lakes without restriction throughout the year, while the unhappy Canadian fishers along the northern coasts are compelled to observe the close time fixed by the Canadian Government. At the mouth of the Fraser River the American fishers are catching the salmon in large trap-nets on their side of the boundary, while the Canadian fishers of the north are restricted to ordinary nets. It is plain that here, at any rate, the American fishermen have no reason to complain of the *status quo*. They have just as much to gain by leaving open the larger question of the fisheries that lie further north on both coasts. The treaty of 1887 was not rejected without a very keen perception on the part of the Northern senators that it was better to leave open all these questions

* The Commissioners proposed a body of three jurists, the first British, the second American, and the third (the umpire) international. The Commissioners of the United States rejected this proposal and suggested six jurists, three to be appointed by Great Britain and three by the United States. The Canadians on their side refused to agree to this on the ground that such a tribunal, being equally divided between the contesting parties, would arrive at no conclusion. The United States finally suggested the selection of the third jurist in the Canadian scheme, who was to act as umpire, from the South American Republics. The Canadians regarded such a choice as bringing the umpire within American influence, and again refused to agree. At the same time the Canadians objected to settle any other question till the Alaska boundary had been fixed, either by agreement or by reference to arbitration. The result was that the Commission broke up without coming to any agreement upon any point of difference between the two countries. The negotiations which have taken place since have not brought the matter any nearer to a settlement. The *modus vivendi* has been fixed, and the Customs question shelved, by an agreement between the two countries which enables the goods of either to pass through in bond; but at the present moment the United States must be said to have held its own on the whole question. (See an article on the whole question in the 'Edinburgh Review,' April 1900, pp. 279-304.)

of sea limits for their fishers. As long as they are unsettled, the daring American fisher, with his comparative indifference to the law, can snap his fingers at his more law-abiding Canadian brother.

The same applies to the American Alien Labour Law, which is an Act by which Canadian workmen are forbidden to labour within the United States unless they permanently settle there. This legislation has been imitated by the Canadian Government which, with rather a pathetic attempt at retaliation, has forbidden United States workmen to labour in Canada. But the cases are not equal. For one American workman who wants to cross into Canada there are probably two Canadians who want to cross into America. With so long a boundary, it is obviously important for industry that there should be no fixed barrier on either side; but the richer and more populous country has far less to lose by such a barrier than the poorer and less populous. The facts speak for themselves. During the last fifty years no less than 1,000,000 French Canadians have crossed the border and settled in the factory towns of North America. The leakage has been scarcely less in the centre and the west, as is clear from the population returns,* and though it has almost ceased during the present prosperity, will take place again in any time of depression. A young Canadian thinks nothing of settling in the United States, and he soon becomes more Yankee than the Yankees. New York is to the young Canadian as London is to the Scotchman.

We see in all this the conflict between a smaller and a greater organism. The results illustrate the attractive power of mere size. The United States can draw the young men from Canada just as it draws to its shores the great bulk of the emigrants from Europe, even including those from Great Britain. At present all the patriotism in the world does not prevent the emigrant British workman from preferring the United States to Canada. There he settles, and in a few months no object is dearer to his heart than that of cutting out the 'old country,' and too often he just falls into the current attitude of contempt for that chilly, empty, sleepy tract of country to the north which is the only image that many Americans have of Canada.

* The Canadian population figures show clear signs of leakage. The population increased by less than two millions in thirty years, from 3,685,024 in 1871 to 5,185,990 in 1891. And yet the Canadian families are generally large.

But there is some danger in this pride. The average American undoubtedly thinks that Canada is dwindling under the refrigerating influence of American laws and that her isolation must necessarily mean ruin. Some, indeed, carry their contempt further. Canadians have spoken of the amiable surprise expressed by Americans on discovering that the Canadians had white skins and could talk English. 'Why,' said an American once under these circumstances, 'you're almost as civilised as I am.' In his own charming way Mr. Howells expresses the same feeling towards the Canadians in that attractive little novel, '*Their Wedding Journey*.' But the Americans must remember that the Canadians have some points on their side. First and most immediate is the possession of nearly all the remaining supply of lumber in North America. The great forests of the United States have nearly all been destroyed, and what remains of them is being rapidly converted into bad paper for printing the yellow journals of New York. We have been told that a single Sunday edition of a New York paper will use up some forty acres of spruce trees—a singular instance of the decadence of matter. But while the spruce trees are being rapidly used up, the American appetite for newspapers is no less rapidly increasing. And so the American paper manufacturers are driven to come to Canada.

Now the Canadians in this great trade conflict have scored a very ingenious point. The Americans began by putting a custom-duty on the manufactured article but none on the raw material. They then proceeded to build great saw mills on their side of the frontier, to which the Canadian forests were to be deported and there turned into lumber—or, in other words, cut wood—by means of American labour. But this was too much for the Canadians. Regardless of the old political economy, preached in the Old World and generally broken in the New, Canada immediately passed an Act to prohibit the conversion of Canadian trees into lumber outside Canada. If exported at all, they have to be exported as lumber. The result has been that American capital has been drawn in great quantities across the border, and is now occupied in building up great lumber factories in Ontario and Quebec—the most conspicuous being those of Sault-Marie, Shawinigan, and Grandmère. Here the swift Canadian waters are being tamed to the service of man. Immense works are rising like fairy palaces from

the ground, and the demand for labour is so great as at present to exceed the supply.

The effect of this developement on the Canadian population is already felt. Taken together with the agricultural developements, it has checked the outflow to the United States. The Canadian statesmen may be too sanguine, but it seems an undoubted fact that the exodus has for the time ceased, and even that some of the French Canadians are coming back. The same tendency is noticeable in the Far West. Until recently the leakage from Manitoba and the North-West territories into the States far exceeded the immigration from the border states. But recent figures seem to show that there is now a movement northward.* In other words, as the United States get filled up, so the population is pressed northwards towards the cold lands. The laws of the human tides are the same in America as they were in Europe in the early centuries. The warm countries are settled and civilised first, and then gradually the natural human aversion from the cold is overcome by the necessities of life, and civilisation begins to move northwards. Great Britain was, after all, one of the last of the Roman conquests, and it has been one of the latest countries of Europe to get filled up. Canada will follow the same course. She, too, will fill up late just as surely as Great Britain, and then, when she possesses a great population, she will be able to deal on equal terms with her colossal neighbour.

We may, therefore, put aside any anxiety as to the future growth of the Canadian population. A far more urgent matter for Canadian statesmen is to avoid the peril of race discord. The only hindrance to the developement of Canada lies in the possibility of a race conflict between the British and the French Canadians. We have seen how this peril was avoided by the wise spirit of conciliation that prevailed among British statesmen in the last century. But of late there have not been wanting symptoms in Canada of a new spirit of intolerance on the part of the dominant race. During the general election last autumn all sober Canadians mourned that the political issue should have taken such a strong racial colour. The British in Ontario could not resist the temptation of making party

* In the 1899 Blue Book the Canadian Superintendent of Immigration reports an inflow of 12,000 immigrant settlers from the States.

capital out of the reluctance felt by the French Canadians to join in the South African war. It was not enough for the British that Sir Wilfrid Laurier had prevailed over this aversion and finally induced the majority of his French followers to vote for the Canadian contingent. A small section of the French Liberals, headed by Mr. Bourassa, had always resisted the policy, and were even joined by the French Tories in opposition to it. Another section, under Mr. Tarte, had only consented to it with reluctance, and were anxious to protest in advance against establishing a precedent for the participation of Canada in any other Imperial war—having in their minds, of course, a war with France. Sir Charles Tupper, imagining that he saw a great political advantage in identifying Laurier with his extreme wing, led the Tories of Ontario in a violent racial campaign against the French. Mr. Tarte, who is by no means a meek politician, answered in kind from Montreal and Quebec. For a few weeks Canada was treated to the miserable spectacle of a campaign of abuse between the two races, which was none the more profitable because, owing to the difference of the language, neither side understood the invective of the other. The result was, fortunately, not encouraging to those who wish to rely on race hatred for party ends. The Tory party sustained a crushing defeat, and was almost annihilated in the Province of Quebec. Most of the Conservative leaders were driven out of public life, and the Tory victory in Ontario was inadequate to balance the Liberal victory in Quebec. In that province the Liberals came back with a majority of fifty-seven to seven; in Ontario the Tories came back with fifty-three to thirty-five. The Maritime Provinces sustained the Liberal cause, and thus Sir Wilfrid Laurier now enters upon a new career of almost supreme power. He has behind him not only nearly the whole of French Canada, but also fortunately a majority of the English-speaking members in the House.

The result is largely a personal triumph; Laurier is one of those rare men who are gifted with the power of conciliating races. He can speak equally fluently in two languages, and he understands both French and British equally well. He addresses audiences drawn from both races, and appeals with skill and sympathy to the higher nature of both. He is not an Aristides; his enemies call him flexible. He is a Free-trader, and yet he supports Protection with the apology of a ‘tariff for revenue;’ he began by hinting objections to the idea of the Canadian

contingent, and he ended by agreeing to it. But all these things are subordinate with him to the leading idea of race harmony. It is his mission to keep the races together. He is French by birth, and British by citizenship. By genius and instinct he is called to a great mission, and it has been a happy thing for the British Empire that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, supported by a sane and tolerant Governor in Lord Minto, has presided over the fortunes of Canada during the last few years.

His remarkable speech on March 13, 1901, to the Dominion Parliament comes as a timely witness to this view. It is an admirable instance of his great persuasive powers, and of the skilful way in which he unites the races by combining the ideas of patriotism and Liberalism. By his denunciations of Mr. Kruger and his assertion of the British claim he wins over Ontario, while Quebec is kept quiet by his demand for a liberal settlement in which South Africa shall be modelled on the pattern of Canada.

But Sir Wilfrid Laurier will not live for ever, and it would be idle to deny that there are grave dangers in the present political divisions of Canada. By some subtle sympathy Toronto has been infected with the very spirit of the British in Cape Town. You hear the same phrases and mark the same attitude. You hear grave men arguing against the use of the French language in law and politics, forgetting that it is part of the compromise by which originally we gained Canada. You find that British parents refuse to let their children learn French, though, thanks to the intervention of the Papal Legate, English is now largely taught in French schools. Passing from Toronto to Quebec, you find that the French are keenly conscious of this new British spirit, and are prompt to resent it. Most of the French Canadians are devoted to British rule. They have no love for modern France, and they suspect the militant Protestantism of the United States. They recognise that Great Britain has treated them justly and has been faithful to her pledges. They feel that at present they can be faithful to Great Britain without being disloyal to their own race. With this feeling, many French Canadians have even sent their sons to the war. But if they were called upon to choose between the two loyalties—the one of blood and the other of conquest, the one of race and the other of law—there can be no question that the statesmen who put such a choice before them would rouse a very ugly spirit of resistance. It is fortunate that with the destruction of the

Tory party in Canada this danger has become remote. But let there be no doubt as to the feelings of the French Canadians. They have no enthusiasm for the British cause in the South African war, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier is the only living man who could have persuaded them to participate in it. But, after all, South Africa is remote. The real danger would begin if any statesman ventured to take away their own privileges, or if a Governor came out with a domineering or suspicious spirit. At present it is the glory of our rule in Canada that it is enforced without the presence of a single British soldier beyond the few Imperial officers who command the Canadian regiments. But if we suppressed the French language or abolished the French civil law we should then have to face the necessity of keeping a large standing army in Canada. For, though the French Canadians are conscious of their own weakness, the United States stands ever ready over the border to receive Canada into her arms.

But let us end on a higher and more hopeful note. For, on the other hand, if British rulers maintain their ancient traditions of wisdom and tolerance, there seems no limit to the future of this vast country. During this century it will probably fill up rapidly. Its population will necessarily be a mixture of races, for the overflow from Great Britain now seems unequal to the task of populating her colonies. During the last few years the Canadian Government have imported 15,000 Galicians and 8,000 'Doukhobors,' and men are coming into Canada from all parts of Europe. The only country, indeed, which showed a decline was Great Britain, whose energy is for the moment either absorbed in her home trade or diverted to South Africa.* Thus the Canadian population is likely to grow up, like that of the United States, as an agglomeration of all races and creeds from the Old World. There will be all the more need of extending to her that fine spirit of race tolerance which has ever been one of the glories of the British Empire. We must put aside our possessive pride, and cease to look upon this great state as in any sense a colony or a dependency. Canada already claims to be a nation—not a colony, but a confederate, independent nation of the British Empire. That

* The immigrants of 1899 (Immigration Blue Book) into the North-West amounted to 41,927, thus divided: From Europe, including Great Britain, 26,364; from the United States, 9,839; Canadians from the eastern provinces, 11,724. An increase of 12,643 on 1898.

is the claim put forward by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in a recent speech, and his voice is the voice of Canada. Canada, in fact, is an 'independent colony' in the same sense as Sir Redvers Buller used that phrase in his noble dialogue with General Botha at Laing's Nek in June last. The phrase is a paradox, and, perhaps it would be better to substitute Sir Wilfrid Laurier's 'nation' for Sir Redvers Buller's 'colony.' But we all understand its meaning. We know that it has nothing to do with that spirit of imperialism which ruined the Roman Republic. We know that it expresses a far higher and nobler spirit—the spirit of a British confederacy encircling the world, bound together by the ties of goodwill, and linked in a common devotion to the pursuit of justice and peace.

- ART. II.—1.** *Rapport fait au nom de la Commission du Budget chargée d'examiner le projet de Loi portant fixation du Budget Général de l'Exercice, 1901.* (Ministère de la Marine.) Par M. FLEURY RAVARIN. Paris : Motteoz, 1900.
- 2.** *Entwurf einer Novelle zum Gesetze, betreffend die deutsche Flotte, vom 10. April 1898, &c. Die Steigerung der deutschen Seeinteressen von 1896 bis 1898.* (Marine Rundschau.) Berlin : E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1900.
- 3.** *Sénat : Rapport, &c., loi relative à l'augmentation de la Flotte.* Par M. JULES GODIN. Séance du 22 Novembre, 1900.
- 4.** *Navy Estimates for the Year 1901-2.*
- 5.** *Statement of the First Lord of the Admiralty explanatory of the Navy Estimates, 1901-2.* Presented to both Houses by His Majesty's command.

IT has been our good fortune—to be set off against recent disappointments and humiliations—that we have been shown by actual experience the value and the necessity of a strong Navy. However little we may have been influenced hitherto by the teaching of maritime history, we have been forced at last to see, in the course of contemporary events, a warning and an example. The fear of our power and the jealousy of our national prosperity, probably long rankling in the minds of foreign nations, have been revealed to us under the outward and visible sign of intense animosity. Making full allowance for the malign dominion over public feeling in Continental Europe exercised by hired traducers in an easily corruptible Press, we still have to admit that the calumnious seed they scattered could not have borne such an abundant fruit of bitterness had it not fallen on a congenial soil. We have been warned—and, happily for us, in good time—of the sentiments, the hopes, and the ultimate intentions of large and far from uninfluential classes of people abroad. To weaken our power and undermine our prosperity are now their unconcealed aspirations. An indispensable preliminary to the satisfaction of these was instinctively felt to be the entanglement of the British Empire in a serious difficulty. An occasion was provided as soon as we were involved in the complications—for they constitute more than a mere war—in South Africa. What was it that, at such a moment, permitted us to confront with calmness

so general an outburst of hostility? What was it that reinforced the prudence of foreign Governments, and enabled them to hold in restraint the passions of their fellow-countrymen? It was a conviction of the relative impregnability of a position based upon the strength of the British Navy. It was, in fact, a fresh and striking example of the influence of sea-power.

With this example before us we can see how entirely justified have been the sacrifices, great as they undoubtedly were, made by the people of the United Kingdom during the last dozen years to bring our naval forces up to a proper standard. Let anyone count the cost of effecting this; let him compare it with that to which we have been already put by the present war; and let him then consider what we must have saved, in direct pecuniary expenditure alone, by securing ourselves against a war with a first-class Power, and, likely enough, with more than one. We have made great efforts, but these efforts have not been useless. On the contrary, they have been fruitful in advantages; and we have to inquire as to the necessity of continuing them.

Whilst it is generally understood that our naval position is always a relative and never an absolute one, and that it cannot be estimated correctly unless we take into account the proceedings of other naval States, it is not nearly so generally recognised that, as far as we are concerned, the relation is not by any means one of simple proportion. The common method of comparing British and foreign naval forces is to put the numerical statistics of one in juxtaposition to those of the other. Though this may tell the truth, it does not tell the whole truth. The conditions of the British Empire, pre-eminently maritime and colonial as it is, are so unlike those of other States that the numerical method of comparison—even when the figures are correctly given—cannot supply a satisfactory conclusion as to our position, though, with other things, it may help us to form one. We have to look not only at the statistics, but also at the policy and intentions of other Navies. We have also to take note of what we ourselves have been doing and have left undone.

No Navy, not even the most insignificant, can be a matter of indifference to us; because we have interests on every sea. Our first concern, however, is with the forces of the great Powers of the Northern Hemisphere. If these have displayed great activity in strengthening their fleets, it is incumbent on us to ascertain the extent to which this

will affect us, and to see that measures are taken to prevent our being placed at a disadvantage, either now or in the future, on that element to which we habitually entrust enormous and vital interests. There is nothing provocative in insisting on the maintenance of our naval pre-eminence. This is universally allowed amongst foreigners, even amongst those who have no special love for us. The conditions of our empire are thoroughly understood abroad. M. Jean de Bloch, in his well-known work on war—whilst dwelling upon the objections to, or even the absurdity of, Continental countries keeping up great Navies—especially calls attention to the necessity of a strong fleet to us. The following extracts from the French edition of his book * deserve to be read and remembered :

'Pour l'Angleterre, il y a un intérêt de premier ordre à rester maîtresse de la mer, partout et à l'égard de n'importe quel adversaire, pour protéger contre tout danger non seulement les Iles Britanniques, mais son commerce maritime, l'immense étendue de ses colonies dans toutes les parties du globe, et les communications par lesquelles s'effectue à son profit l'échange des richesses de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Monde, échange qui comme le flux et reflux est indispensable à l'entretien de son existence même. Maîtresse des mers, l'Angleterre peut être tranquille pour elle-même et pour ses colonies. . . . Un état composé d'îles, du moment où il a assuré la supériorité de sa flotte, est par là même pleinement en sécurité et, par conséquent, il lui faut tout sacrifier à la puissance de cette flotte.'

The case for a strong, indeed for a relatively overwhelmingly strong, British Navy could not well be more clearly or more forcibly stated. It should be borne in mind that the statement has been put forward only recently. It is sometimes said that our Navy is to us what their great land armies are to the military Powers of the Continent. The truth is that our Navy is to us that, and more also. It, to a great extent, represents with us both the immense mobile land forces of Continental States and the fixed fortifications erected for their defence. High as our naval expenditure has risen, we have not in ten years spent directly and indirectly on our naval defences more than France devoted to the material part of the defences of her Eastern frontier alone. In mentioning this we in no way under-estimate the importance, even to an insular State, of an efficient army. On this point we have already expressed ourselves so fully † that there is no need to labour it now.

* Section III., published in 1899.

† Edinburgh Review, No. 385, pp. 217-8.

It does not affect the paramount importance of securing our naval position, as will be seen when we look at what foreign nations have been doing within the last two or three years.

The case of Germany is especially notable. As recently as April 1898, it was decided that the German fleet should be raised to a strength of twenty battle-ships, eight coast-defence ships, twelve large and twenty-nine small cruisers. The expenditure for additional ships, and for new construction to replace those ceasing to be efficient, was to be rather more than twenty and a-half millions sterling, spread over a period finally fixed at six years. This great programme was, in a short time, declared to be insufficient. In the early part of 1900 a fresh and greatly extended one was laid before the Reichstag. The eight coast-defence vessels disappear in this new programme, and the German fleet is to be composed of thirty-four battle-ships—which absurd designation is replaced by '*Linienschiff*' ('ship of the line'), eight large and twenty-four small cruisers, and eighty torpedo craft. Building of additional ships and of substitutes for old will be completed by 1920, and perhaps even by 1917, financial provision being made for a series of years up to 1916 inclusive. The great increase of the fleet will necessitate an extension of the dockyards, additional dry-dock accommodation, and various harbour improvements. To execute the ship-building programme will require the enormous sum of 64,000,000*l.* Allowing for a probable rise in cost of building and for armament, a sum of nearly five millions sterling will be required annually. What the increase of the German navy is really to be will, perhaps, appear more readily from a statement of the difference in the numbers of officers and men as they stood in 1900 and as they are to stand in 1920. The number for the former year is given as 22,578, whilst that for 1920 is to be 58,324. In other words, the German Navy is to be considerably more than doubled. It may be mentioned that the official estimate of the number of officers and men required to man the French fleet of 1901—'services à terre compris'—is 60,566. Thus in 1920 the German Navy will equal, perhaps will slightly surpass, the sea-going French force of the current year.

It is illustrative of the difference between the political methods and national character of Germans and Englishmen that, whereas in England it was the nation that forced the Government to increase the fleet, in Germany it was the Government that induced the nation to consent to an increase. Both countries have Navy Leagues. The British

League is not regarded favourably by the authorities, whom it freely criticises and on whom it frequently brings pressure to bear. The German League, on the other hand, really owes its origin to official inspiration, and helps the Government to disseminate its views. It is not surprising, therefore, that we can discern a strong family likeness between the pronouncements of the German Navy League on naval policy and those which do not conceal their official character. The League journal '*Ueberall*' recently contained the following comments on the determination of the English to retain 'the undisputed command of the sea' :

'This dominion of the sea affects all States that claim to be naval Powers. They must, therefore, strain every nerve to be in a position to deal with any possible encroachments, and for such an eventuality they prepare by increasing their fleets.'

This is an echo of the official view, which had been put thus: 'The German Empire requires peace on the sea. ' For the German Empire of to-day the security of its 'economic developement, specially of its trade throughout 'the world (*Welthandel*) is a vital question. For this object 'the German Empire needs not only peace on land, but also 'peace on the sea—not, however, peace at *any price*, but 'peace with honour, which takes account of its legitimate re- 'quirements.' The official writer is fond of italics.

Says the German Navy League :

'Years ago Treitschke wrote to Gustav Freytag: "The modern world will no longer tolerate that rotten state of affairs. . . . I still hope to see the downfall of English predominance on the sea, which obviously belongs to the last century." The hopes of the celebrated savant were falsified. When such a break-down is to take place, or whether such an event will ever come about, remains uncertain. Our fleet will be for the preservation of peace; but should it ever be called upon to act in earnest, then it might be just as well to recall the fact that history abounds in instances where huge and powerful fleets were crushed by the smaller fleets of vigorous rising States—for example, the Persian fleet was crushed by the Greek, and the Spanish by the English Navy.'

The official aspiration is not dissimilar, though more concisely stated. 'Under existing circumstances there is only 'one way of protecting Germany's maritime trade and 'colonies: Germany must have a fighting fleet so strong 'that, even for the mightiest naval enemy, a war with her 'would endanger that enemy's own supremacy.'

It would be worse than absurd for us to feel annoyance at the clumsy cynicism of these open avowals of a desire to

ruin a neighbour. Patriotism demands that we should be grateful to those who let us see so plainly what their hopes and wishes point to. We now know what to expect, and it will be our own fault if we do not accept the warning and make proper arrangements to meet the storm with which we are threatened. It is specially fortunate for us—and this should deepen our gratitude—that we are allowed to observe the precise methods by which the overthrow of the British Empire is to be attempted. It makes our duty all the plainer. We need not suppose that immediate hostility is contemplated. Indeed, we may be certain that it is not. There are many signs indicating that the attitude of the moment is one of friendliness. It is the future attitude which concerns us. Attacks are not made upon people known to be stronger and better prepared for a struggle. It is when their relative supremacy has declined that they are looked upon as fit objects for assault. Cato Major persisted in the reiteration of his motion for the ruin of Carthage, not in a period of hostility, but when there was peace between Rome and the African Republic.

Warnings come also from another quarter. In France it is the constitutional practice to subject the Navy estimates to the scrutiny of a committee of the Chamber of Deputies, and, when they have been voted by the Chamber, to a further scrutiny by a committee of the Senate. The results of these examinations are printed; and the documents as issued contain much information about that which has been done and that which is intended. Last July the Deputies' committee presented its report. The first section of this is devoted to the consideration of naval policy in general ('La Politique Maritime de la France'). It reviews the general conditions necessitating the possession of a great fleet. It puts all the arguments in favour of a strong Navy which have been urged in the British Empire during the last fifteen years. There is something almost startling in the exactness with which the British arguments have been copied. We may give one or two examples: 'Sans marine 'les colonies ne peuvent pas être conservées.' Even in connection with coast fortification—we commend this to the particular attention of the military disciples of the passive-defence school—the report says, 'La sécurité des côtes ne 'peut être obtenue que par des flottes.' It considers the operations of a fleet indispensable as a protection against invasion—'aucune défense locale ne pourrait empêcher une 'descente de s'effectuer.' This also may be of interest to

those who have studded our British coasts with batteries and strewn our inlets with underwater mines.

When the committee comes to deal with 'Nos adversaires éventuels : L'Angleterre,' it formulates its view thus : 'The best way of ensuring a pacific solution of the conflicts which may arise between her and us is to have a force capable of making her dread the struggle.' We suggest a comparison of this sentence with that which we extracted from the German explanation of the reasons for having a strong fleet.

Hitherto the naval policy of France has taken the form of a determination to maintain practically unaltered the measure of inequality between her fleet and ours. Our superiority was taken as a matter of course, and what France had to do was to see that the extent of that superiority did not greatly increase. This policy, it is now openly declared, has undergone a portentous change. The superiority of the British fleet is not to be suffered to continue, or, at the least, its dimensions are to be so narrowed that—in view of the many demands upon our forces—the French Navy will be able to contend with ours on terms of virtual equality. It is quite likely that this will startle those amongst us who have not devoted very much attention to foreign naval proceedings. The new French policy is not to remain a mere 'pious opinion.' It is to be put, indeed is already being put, into practical shape.

It is admitted that the advance in naval strength which we have been allowed to gain will make it difficult for the French to overtake us ; but both Deputies and Senators are of opinion that the difficulty is not insuperable. The committee of the Chamber examines the various schemes advocated in France for neutralising our superiority instead of removing it. Of these, one much favoured was commerce-destroying ('la guerre de course'). The committee rejects this on both strategical and financial grounds. It holds that, considering the immense resources of England, French commerce-destroying cruisers 'would be reduced, in a few weeks, to impotence.' It also believes that it would be a mistake to suppose that a serious commerce-destroying war would be cheaper than the provision of a real fighting force ('la constitution d'escadres militaires').

A well-known school of French officers recommended with great persistence the employment of clouds of torpedo-boats as the most promising method of dealing with the British Navy in war. The adoption of the submarine boat

is really a developement of their recommendation. The committee discusses it at some length, and, whilst evidently reluctant to appear sceptical as to the efficiency of the plan recommended and of the material to be used in carrying it into execution, ends by giving the plan only a secondary place. The conclusion is that efforts must be concentrated on the provision of a powerful sea-going fleet. ‘The efforts of a nation ought to be devoted to the means proper for giving battle—that is to say, to the construction of *fighting ships*,’ the expression being put in italics. Commerce-destroying, torpedo-boat operations, recourse to submarine craft, are all very well in their way; but their effect will be limited and secondary. The reconstitution of the fighting sea-going fleet proportionate to the policy adopted will demand important and continuous sacrifices, ‘but it is the only solution of the problem.’ There is no desire to undervalue the importance of Russian co-operation, but the French Navy ought not to be—as has been suggested—‘une sorte de complément d’une marine alliée.’ The committee of the Senate, which reported as late as the latter part of November, takes the same line, but it expresses itself with greater brevity. Its members decidedly favour the adoption of types of ship of great individual strength and offensive power, the idea being that—ship for ship—the French fleet should be equal to ours.

It is to be noticed that in neither of the countries with which we have been dealing is there a sign of apprehension that the superior strength of the British Navy is in any way a menace to their interests. The necessity to us of naval predominance has been too long and too thoroughly perceived for it to be discreet to question its propriety. The moderation with which that long-existing predominance has been invariably utilised is too well known for even the least scrupulous of our purchased detractors on the Continent to question it—as yet, at least. It is no exaggeration, it is the unvarnished truth, to say that the maritime interests of Germany down to a late date rose and flourished under the protection of the maritime tranquillity due to the naval predominance of England. There must be many people still living who have a lively recollection of the days when German shipping—traversing the ocean under the different flags of Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Hanover, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg—looked confidently to British men-of-war for the preservation of the maritime good order which was essential to the successful issue of their ventures.

The same might be said of other countries. All this makes more plain the conditions which we have to face. Our naval position is being menaced by others, not for the sake of defending themselves, but in order to ruin us.

The importance of seeing how we stand cannot be exaggerated. Whenever the British public takes an interest in a serious subject it has to pay a penalty. The subject is discussed in the newspapers, in itself an excellent thing. The misfortune—if it is naval—is that the people who are employed to expound it in print very seldom know anything about it. As the confidence of their tone is in direct proportion to the extent of their ignorance, the general tendency of their performances is, not to impart sound information, but to ‘darken counsel.’ The ordinary reader—interested in naval policy British and foreign—is bewildered with lists and tabulated statements having little meaning for him without a suitable commentary which the so-called ‘naval experts’ of the Press are quite incompetent to supply. He soon finds that he is paying for his interest in the subject by risking being misled, and he too often turns to something else. Now you cannot give an accurate account of relative naval strength without lists of ships and statistics of personnel; and if there were perfect uniformity of individual merit in all Navies, the figures showing the totals on the lists would supply all that was needed for making a comparison. Individuals differ greatly in merit and efficiency even when they are included in the list of a single Navy. They differ still more when scattered throughout many lists. Consequently, the mere counting of ships, as belonging to each, helps most people but little to understand what the strength of different fleets is. Real expert knowledge of a varied and extensive character is absolutely necessary for forming a satisfactory conclusion. The great majority of readers cannot be expected to possess this knowledge. Therefore in the explanation we are about to give we shall use lists and tables but sparingly.

There are, in addition to those already mentioned, four other considerable naval Powers whose forces and proceedings have to be dealt with. These Powers are the United States, Russia, Italy, and Japan. Italy need not detain us long. She is keeping up the strength of her fleet, indeed she is slightly adding to it; but she has not formulated any very ambitious programme or indicated any striking change of policy. The naval progress of Japan is interesting for reasons which are not exclusively those of a professional

or even of a political character. There are points in Japanese construction and equipment which cannot fail to be of interest to the technical expert, as there are also points in her defence policy which must interest the politician who has his eye on international relations. What is most generally interesting is the comparative rapidity with which Japan has entered the circle of nations as a respectable naval Power. Her geographical situation helps to reinforce her fleet. Her resources are concentrated and all at hand, whilst those of every other maritime State with which she comes in contact are comparatively scattered, the headquarters, moreover, being remote. Japan presents us with a lesson which we ought to learn at once. It is that, given a determination to have a strong fleet, a nation, though not favourably conditioned for creating one, can get it in a short time. We must not delay if we wish that others should not surpass us.

Russia has not been behind the rest of the world in making additions to her naval expenditure. The Board of Trade return of December 6, 1900, puts the Russian 'Aggregate Naval Expenditure on Sea-going Force' at 8,306,500*l.* It is probable that this sum does not include all that is spent indirectly, there being many items of expenditure in the budgets of all countries besides those due to the maintenance of the really 'sea-going force.' A more detailed statement of the Russian Navy Estimates for 1901, published in the 'Journal of the Royal United Service Institution' for November 1900, makes the prospective sum over fourteen and a-half millions sterling, and it is observed that 'the above exceeds the estimate for 1900 by 1,375,144*l.*' This addition is large in itself, and, proportionately, is very great. We ought not to be surprised by it, because in Brassey's 'Comparative Tables' for last year no less than seven first-class battleships were shown as being built for Russia. Even more significant of naval aspirations are the additions which are being made to the number of Russian cruisers. As the aggregate tonnage of Russia's mercantile marine, according to the Board of Trade paper already quoted, is 554,141—that is to say, less than that of Spain—it is obvious that no large cruiser force is needed to defend it. A considerable force of the kind would, however, prove formidable to the much greater mercantile marine of an enemy who happened to have a vast oceanic trade. If anyone is led to suspect that in future hostilities the Russian cruisers, having nothing to defend,

will be used for commerce-destroying as a diversion in favour of the general strategic movements of the French, it may be attributed to the fact that the committee of the Chamber of Deputies has classified the French and Russian forces together in a single table, and has put the remaining Navies of the world in a different one.

Up to last year there had been a curious parallelism between the progress of the United States Navy and that of the German. Each seemed determined to have as nearly as possible the same number of first-class battleships and armoured cruisers as the other. If it were the object of Germany to surpass France, and take rank as the second naval Power in the world, it appeared to be equally the object of the United States to dispute that place with Germany. The parallelism maintained in the matter of ships was to be noticed in that of men. We have seen that the German figures for 1900 were 22,578, to be increased by the addition of 1,776, bringing up the total for the present year to 24,354. The total American naval *personnel* in November 1900, was returned at 24,661. The United States do not, as a rule, indulge in ship-building programmes intended to cover a long series of years, but we shall probably not be deceived if we take it that the recently adopted great German programme will have its effects on the other side of the Atlantic.

We have alluded to the imperfections of the common method of comparing the British Navy with the Navies of other countries by placing lists of ships side by side. Only very extensive technical knowledge qualifies anyone to draw a satisfactory deduction from lists so placed, and the technical knowledge is not merely that of the naval architect or the marine engineer. A great deal more is required. First of all, long practice in handling ships and squadrons at sea is absolutely indispensable to permit the manifold requirements of a naval force during a campaign being realised. Then, also, study of the strategic conditions of any war in which we may be involved is the only thing that can prepare us for coming to any useful decision as to the distribution of our force in anticipation of, and during, hostilities, and as to the duty to be assigned to different parts of it. This study is not a thing that can be completed in a short time. With this preface, we may give a tabulated statement of British and foreign 'battle-ships' and large cruisers, built and building, extracted from Brassey's 'Annual for 1900,' additions known to have

been made since that work was published being allowed for :

		'Battleships'	Large of all classes. cruisers.
British Empire	.	61	41
France	.	33	21
Russia	.	25	13
Germany	.	22	4
United States	.	18	7
Italy	.	24	5

As far as the above may be taken as a guide we can see that the British battleship total is 61, whilst the Franco-Russian is 58, thus leaving a margin of 3 in our favour. Now, it would be quite ridiculous to assume that such a trifling numerical superiority would give us a real service equality. We have to take into account—and our rivals abroad invariably do take it in account—the immense difference in the requirements of a maritime Empire like the British and those of every other country. In addition to this it should be known that many vessels classed as 'coast-defence ships,' which have not been included in the above enumeration, would form an effective reinforcement to a French or Russian fleet, but would be useless and a hindrance to a British. The committee of the French Chamber, tabulating their own and the Russian fleets together, allowed—after erasing from the list vessels becoming obsolete—that in 1907 the Franco-Russian 'battleship' and coast-defence ship total would amount to 69. We have said enough to show that if we are to maintain a bare equality with our rivals we must have a larger number of ships than are at present built or building for us. The same conclusion will be forced upon us if we go through the statistics of cruisers, especially if we make proper allowance for the demands that would be made upon our cruiser force when called upon to defend the greatest and most widely dispersed mercantile marine in the world.

Our position, it has to be confessed, is even less favourable than we had hoped it would be, because of failure to complete previously arranged construction. This has been attributed to the disturbing effect of strikes and to the inability of armour-plate manufacturers to finish work in the time anticipated. This explanation has been disputed, or it has been held that the delay admitted might have been made up for by the adoption of special arrangements. The moment has gone by when any useful purpose would be served by

discussing this point; what we have to do now is to exert ourselves to regain lost time. Every occasion on which we fall behind in naval efficiency is eagerly seized by our rivals, and it is only too obvious that the retardation of our ship-building, or rather of our ship-equipping, operations, just alluded to, did encourage others to attempt overtaking us.

The report of the committee of the French Senate, dated November last, contains some interesting information concerning the rate and cost of war-ship building in France. Like the deputies, the senators accept the approximation of French design and displacement to the English. They say that battleships and cruisers, originally separate and distinct, are now converging towards a similar type in proportion as the tonnage is increased. We have just arrived at battleships of 15,000 and cruisers of 14,000 tons displacement.* ‘Si nous voulons lutter,’ they remark, ‘contre les puissances étrangères, il faut évidemment avoir des armes aussi puissantes.’ A battleship, building in a French dockyard, requires 1,678,000 days’ work, and an armoured cruiser 1,565,000. There are 22,692 workmen in the yards of the five French naval ports, but one-third of the workmen must be employed on repairs. Thus there are some 14,500 left for new construction. Each man works 305 days in the year. A somewhat elaborate calculation results in showing that about 24,957,000 ‘days’ work’ may be counted on in six years. To build six battleships, five cruisers, and twenty-eight destroyers requires 20,161,000, leaving 4,796,000 for torpedo boats, ‘submarines,’ and other craft. It is, moreover, intended to increase the men in the French yards temporarily.

The Senate committee makes a comparison between the cost of building in England and in France, which is interesting enough to quote :

Cost per ton.			
	In Government yards.	By private firms.	
	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.
British battleship ‘Ocean’	1,807	‘Glory’	1,726
“ “ “ London ”	1,811	‘Russell’	1,919
“ cruiser, ‘Andromeda’	1,366	‘Leviathan’	1,602
“ “ ”		‘Euryalus’	1,663
French battleship ‘Ch. Martel’	2,115	‘Masséna’	2,154
“ “ “ Bouvet ”	2,396		
“ cruiser, ‘Dupuy de Lôme’	2,045		

* The two French battleships to be put in hand at once are to have a length of 439 feet, beam $79\frac{1}{2}$ feet, draught $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet, engines

It will be seen that the superior economy of British construction is considerable. The committee gives the cost per ton of battleship construction in Germany as 2,375 francs, which also is much higher than the British rate.

It is to be noted that complaints are made in France of slowness of construction, and of failure to build ships within the time promised or anticipated. The committee of the Chamber, remarking that two proposed battleships are not expected to be completed before 1906, and that three years are allowed for the completion of the submarine boats, 'sur lesquels nous fondons tant d'espoir,' declares that the period is truly excessive. The Senate committee states that two ships ordered to be laid down in 1893 were finished only in 1899; whilst one cruiser, commenced in 1895, was not completed in November last. The conclusion is that it is better to lay down fewer vessels at the same time and complete them quickly, than to dissipate force amongst too large a number. According to the Senate committee, the time taken in Germany to build a battleship of 11,800 tons is three years and a-half. We have brought forward these statements as to delays in construction abroad in order that the important truth which they reveal should be made known; but it is proper to add that the evils of dawdling construction are now fully realised in Continental countries, and that energetic steps are being taken to remove them. We cannot, therefore, count on the continuance of leisurely building by our rivals. On the contrary, we must be prepared to see it greatly expedited. The determination to expedite it is only another proof of the vigour of the efforts which are being made to approach or surpass us in naval strength.

Readers of English newspapers are frequently treated to alarming, or at least alarmist, reports of our deficiencies in naval *personnel*, and of the difficulties experienced in filling them. It is desirable that the truth should be told about these reports also. Sometimes, but rarely, they are the outcome of honest ignorance. Too often they are the

17,475 h.p.; speed 18 knots, displacement 14,865 tons, radius of action with normal coal supply 8,390 miles at 10 knots and 930 at 18 knots; with packed briquettes 1,880 at 18 knots. The cruiser to be laid down at Toulon is to have a length of 480 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet, beam 70 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet, draught 27 feet, displacement 12,500 tons, engines 27,500 h.p., speed 22 knots, radius of action with packed briquettes 12,000 miles at 10 knots, 1,590 miles at 22 knots. ('Le Yacht,' quoted in the 'Times' of March 28, 1901.)

deliberate concoctions of certain bodies which have their own private interests to serve. The plan is to make it appear that some branches of the Navy are very short of the approved numbers, and that the reason is that the terms offered by the Admiralty are not good enough to attract recruits. It is, of course, a question admitting of argument, whether the total number of officers and men asked for the Navy by the Government, or even the establishment of any particular branch, is or is not sufficient. The question of the numbers obtained is, on the other hand, purely a matter of statistical fact. For a considerable period the total voted by Parliament has been invariably obtained within the year,* the small difference between the voted number and that 'borne' being accounted for by the 'waste' which is always going on. Even then the difference does not exceed one per cent. An instructive instance of the distinction between alarmist allegation and real fact is to be found in the statement of the Admiralty representative in the House of Commons on March 1 last. He said :

'Ninety-seven per cent. of the engine-room artificers voted by Parliament and 98 per cent. of the stokers were borne. There is not any difficulty in obtaining sufficient men of both these ratings on existing terms. During a great part of the year restrictions have been placed on recruiting, in order to keep within the numbers voted, and to ensure the entry of only specially desirable men.'†

This shows that we can get men easily enough if the responsible authorities decide that they are required. •

Where there are difficulties in filling the ranks of the Navy, these difficulties are largely artificial. We live in an age of specialists ; and the mania for specialism has invaded Navies, and prevails in them in an acute form. The crew of a man-of-war no longer consists merely of seamen, marines, and stokers. It is composed of a great variety of

* For example—

Year.	Voted.	Borne.
1893-4 . .	76,700	76,117
1894-5 . .	83,400	82,299
1895-6 . .	88,850	88,792
1896-7 . .	93,750	94,469
1897-8 . .	100,050	99,999

† There was still another month's recruiting to be done, so that the small deficiencies of 3 per cent. and 2 per cent. mentioned would be nearly if not quite made good. Efforts are always made to keep within the numbers voted, the excess shown in the previous note for 1896-7 being a special case.

branches and ratings ; and a superabundance of a particular branch in the dépôts does not permit a ship's company to be completed if certain small specialities are wanting. It is not the British Navy only that experiences this inconvenience. It is also felt elsewhere.

' It should be remarked,' says the committee of the French Chamber, ' that the ships' companies of the fleet comprise twenty distinct specialities, and that each speciality includes four ratings or grades. . . . To man a ship it is necessary to have the regulated establishment of each speciality and each grade. If we divide the available number by eighty—viz. twenty specialities of four grades each—and if we notice that one part must be kept at the northern ports and the other at Toulon, it will be seen that we can hardly count upon having members of each branch always at hand.'

The inability of a man-of-war to start for foreign service because her complement is short by a couple of 'leading 'torpedo men,' or a 'painter, second class,' may seem an absurdity to laymen. Nevertheless it does sometimes occur. People who are interested in the matter would do well to look at the pages of the 'Quarterly Navy List,' on which the rates of pay are printed, and they will be able to form an idea of the multitude of branches comprising a man-of-war's crew. It is just possible that it may occur to them to ask if some simplification could not be introduced with advantage.

In France, in order to man the ships sent to China last year, the dépôts were exhausted, and it was found necessary to take men from the ships in reserve, whose hands had already been reduced. We hear a great deal in this country about the efficiency of the *inscription maritime*, and its numbers are often stated with alarmist emphasis and exaggeration. We learn, on the authority of the committee from whose report we have been quoting, that the *inscription* normally furnishes about 3,900 men yearly, but that its contingent has to be supplemented by voluntary enrolments to the number of 2,800. It is interesting to note that nine-tenths of the French engine-room complements have to be recruited from volunteers. In 1900 not half the requisite number was obtained. 'D'autre part, au point de vue de 'la qualité, le recrutement a été également très faible.' We may draw comfort from these facts, but we must not allow them to inspire us with a false sense of security. The truth is, that, however inferior in numbers it may be to those usually assigned to it by English writers, the *inscription maritime* is quite strong enough to supply, in a

time of emergency, all the real requirements of the French Navy. Also, the authorities in France do not shut their eyes to the difficulty experienced in completing their engine-room establishments with suitable hands, and are setting about to remedy defects which they are clear-sighted enough to discern and too patriotic to conceal.

The French are fond of boasting of the excellence of their naval guns, and that these have great merits will not be disputed by anyone conversant with the subject. There is nothing new in this. In extending the power of ordnance, and in improving the methods of mounting it, both afloat and ashore, French officers have long taken a prominent place. They are inclined to attach an almost excessive importance to some incontestable, but in practice inconsiderable, superiority in artillery material. This leads them to lose sight of the true importance of the human element, 'the 'man behind the gun,' on whom, after all, success in war chiefly depends. In the Chamber of Deputies and in the more serious French newspapers and reviews, comparisons have been made between the guns of the French fleet and those of our own, and these comparisons have always been unfavourable to our weapons. The late Captain Orde-Browne, whose competence in the matter was beyond dispute, examined some of these statements in detail in the 'Naval Annual for 1900,' and effectually refuted them. The state of the case is this: When two guns of the same nature, but by different makers, are compared, it will almost always be found that each has particular advantages not possessed by the other. The introduction of superiority in one particular is, and must be, purchased by inferiority in another particular. A higher muzzle velocity usually involves the adoption of a lighter projectile and a consequent decline in energy at the fighting ranges. When one country or one manufacturer produces a gun, artillerists in some other country try to improve upon it. This applies all round; and it may be said that there is no great difference between guns of the same date, but that a new gun may be taken to be superior, but not much, to one of slightly older type. This is quite independent of nationality.

The invention or re-introduction of the submarine boat has attracted much attention in this country. It is a fact, which ought to be carefully noted, that no person of any naval authority has come forward to extol its powers. Laudation of its efficacy has been common enough, but in England it has been confined to inexpert writers in maga-

zines and newspapers. This does not necessarily prove that there is no importance in the invention, there being a so-called 'professional conservatism'—really a reluctance to rush headlong towards the untried—which, like other virtues, may sometimes be pushed too far. Even in the countries where submarine navigation for war seems to be specially favoured, its principal advocates are amongst the inventors who have devised methods of carrying it into execution. The submarine boat is only a variety of the now well-known torpedo-boat. Of late years the torpedo-boat—which had been applauded and adopted in large numbers without her efficiency having been tested in war—has been declining in favour. It had been held from the first by a large body of British officers that the true place of the torpedo-boat was in organisations that were essentially defensive, and that she was not well suited for offensive operations, especially operations carried on in distant waters. As the strategy of the British fleet was, compulsorily, of an offensive kind, our employment of the torpedo-boat was likely to be rare and exceptional.

This view is now generally accepted. The introduction of the quick-firing gun, and still more of the torpedo-boat destroyer, imposed further limitations on the torpedo-boat's already restricted sphere of action. Daylight attacks by her were rendered nearly impracticable; whilst the development of the electric searchlight and local defence arrangements at anchorages frequented by our men-of-war reduced considerably the chances of success of even night attacks. The essence of torpedo-boat tactics is surprise. Now, we doubt if the history of warfare by land or sea presents a single instance of a great contest, or even of a single important campaign, being decided by surprise operations. Hostilities carried on chiefly by surprise may produce 'regrettable incidents'—a phrase with which we have become only too familiar of late; but they are really those of savages at a low stage of even belligerent culture. The committee of the French Chamber states the case clearly :

'In a purely defensive war it would seem that the weapons of surprise ought to play a great part, because of the supplementary precautions which they constrain the enemy to adopt. The most efficacious appear to be torpedo-boats and submarine boats. We are far from denying the results that may be expected from these engines, but we think that there ought to be no illusion as to their value up to the point of ignoring their inconveniences. As yet their utilisation in time of war has received no consecration from experience, and

there will be enormous "waste" in both *personnel* and *materiel*, due to the difficulties of attacking the enemy, and also to the delicacy of the machinery and the strain on the crews.'

Nevertheless, whilst allowing all this, we must remember that where there is equality between opposing belligerents, and where—as is the rule now—a large proportion of the fighting strength of a navy is concentrated in huge single ships, the loss of one battleship would be a serious misfortune. We are, therefore, bound to take measures for dealing effectively with the new boats with the employment of which we are threatened. It does not follow that we should provide ourselves with a large flotilla of 'sub-'marines.' It is indispensable that our Navy should be furnished with the means of neutralising their presumed activity. The most effective reply to the torpedo-boat was the torpedo-boat destroyer; and, as the submarine is only a variety of the former, the best antidote to the new craft may be found in some similar contrivance. It is, therefore, prudent on our part to acquire a few submarine boats, in order to test their capacity, and arrive, by experiment, at the proper plan for defeating them.

The submarine boat in France, where the craft has been most favourably received, is far from having gained general acceptance. The attitude of the French Government towards these boats, as reflected in the report of the committee of Deputies, is one of hesitation. There is an evident desire not to run counter to the feeling which has been stimulated by enthusiastic inventors and not less enthusiastic proposers of short and easy methods of destroying British naval power. We are told as regards submarine boats that

'In this matter the French Navy is ahead, as it has always been concerning most questions relative to maritime war; but the experience of the boats is too recent to have completely shown what they will be able to do from the military point of view. The at present satisfactory solution of the problem of submarine navigation has given rise to the fairest hopes. Preparations are being continued in our ports, but we cannot hasten too much to take advantage of our advance on this point before the unceasingly vigilant genius of inventors finds a weapon to oppose to this new adversary.'

This discloses a belief that the menace of the submarine boat, like the menace of the torpedo-boat, is not expected to be of long duration as soon as a serious effort is made to neutralise it.

Already in France the submarine is being displaced by the submersible. The latest design is that of a boat which

is to proceed from point to point with a part showing above water. The part is certainly small, and not easily seen from another vessel. This tends to facilitate operations by surprise, even in broad daylight; but the advantage can be reduced by increasing the number of destroyers on the opponent's side. Hitherto, at least, it has been found impossible to construct a submerged boat capable of proceeding from one place to another, even when the intervening distance is short, at any but a decidedly moderate speed. This will enable the much faster destroyer to cover a larger area of search in the time taken by the submersible to complete a given voyage, and will neutralise much of the advantage of partial invisibility.

The French have four submarine boats completed. They are building six more, and, in addition, four submersible boats. Their programme allows for thirty-eight of both types, all of which are to be ready in 1907. The Americans are in possession of one completed submarine boat of the 'Holland' type, and are building seven others. The type is not generally approved by the officers of the United States Navy. Where approval has been expressed it seems to have been confined to the suitability of the boats for local defence operations. On the whole, it would seem that the American Navy, against its reasoned judgement, has been compelled by political and newspaper pressure to adopt this type of vessel. The Germans have declared decidedly against its adoption. Admiral von Tirpitz, the Imperial Minister of Marine, when questioned by the Budget Committee of the Reichstag on March 1 last, said :

'He had not been able to modify his unfavourable opinion of submarine vessels. In spite of attempts which had been made to improve these boats, it was still impossible to make any use of them. The German Navy would keep the matter in view, but there was for the present no occasion to make experiments of their own.'

This pronouncement is significant. Russia has ports at which torpedo-boats and submarine boats can be stationed so near positions likely to be occupied by German men-of-war that, were the boats considered really formidable, it would be of the greatest importance to the German Navy to have the means for repelling their attacks. The Baltic is a sea in which such boats could operate, as a rule, with much greater chance of success than could be looked for in the almost incessantly rough and stormy waters of the English Channel.

The efforts being made by foreign States to increase their

naval forces being such as we have sketched in outline above, it remains to be seen what steps we are going to take for the maintenance of the naval position which, on pain of national ruin, we must not lose. The convenient practice, introduced more than a dozen years ago, of issuing contemporaneously with the Navy Estimates for the ensuing year an 'Explanatory Statement' by the First Lord of the Admiralty enables us to make out the intentions of the Government. The Estimates for 1901-2 'amount to a net 'total of 30,875,500*l.*, being an increase of 2,083,600*l.* 'beyond the amount of 28,791,900*l.* voted for the year 1900- '1901.' It is no use trying to disguise the fact that the sum now asked for, considered absolutely, is a prodigious one. It cannot be considered absolutely. We must take into account the proceedings and aims of foreign maritime Powers. What these are we have seen; and it is most unlikely that anyone who pays proper attention to them will contend that an addition of two millions to the British naval votes for last year is excessive. Bearing in mind what a war with two small Republics has already cost us, we may think ourselves lucky if an extra couple of millions spent now will help to secure us against the almost incalculably enormous expenditure which a maritime war on a great scale would inevitably involve. It will be surprising if the country, on a review of the circumstances, does not acquit the Admiralty of asking too much—does not, rather, incline to the belief that it would have been only reasonable had the Board asked for more.

Taking the sum demanded as it is, we are of opinion that the proposed method of employing it is to be commended. In the first place, there is to be an addition to the *personnel* of 3,745, bringing the total up to 118,635. No Navy, it need hardly be remarked, not even our own, has ever attempted to keep up such numbers in time of peace. It is, however, a misuse of terms to call the present a 'time of 'peace.' At best it is but a period of armed neutrality, in which envious rivals are not only armed, but also sedulously and uninterruptedly increasing their armaments. The Admiralty has adopted a plan for strengthening and developing the Reserves; and a new body called the 'Royal 'Fleet Reserve' has been instituted. This is a statesman-like attempt to prevent loss of the services of the highly trained seamen and marines who have been for some years in the Navy and who have left, either on earning a pension or on completing the first obligatory period. This new

organisation may be expected to make up for the deficiencies in the longer-established Royal Naval Reserve.

What will attract general attention is the programme of new construction. As to the adequacy of this, opinions are likely to differ. It is proposed to lay down, in the coming financial year, three battle-ships, six armoured cruisers, two third-class cruisers, and some twenty-two smaller craft, of which five are to be torpedo-boats, and—what is especially interesting just now—five are to be submarine boats. The estimates for carrying out ‘new construction’ have to be examined carefully. The total sum asked for is a little over nine millions; but of this only 537,850l.—or less than 6 per cent.—is to be devoted to the additional ships that will be commenced. It is not, therefore, to be expected that much progress with them will be made during the ensuing twelve months. There is comfort, however, in the reflection that a much larger sum can be devoted to them next year, as construction already in hand is completed; and that the ships may be built in a reasonably short time. As bearing on this point, we may quote some encouraging remarks from the First Lord’s ‘Statement.’ The unfortunate delays of previous years were not repeated in the year just about to end :

‘The aggregate expenditure will closely approach the provision made in the Estimates. . . . The steps taken by the various contractors to increase the output of armour and machinery have begun to show their effect, and the rate of progress has greatly increased during the latter half of the year. This is especially the case with armour, the total output of which for Admiralty use in the present year will be from 45 to 50 per cent. greater than last year.’

A fifth firm has undertaken armour manufacture. All this is decidedly satisfactory; and it suggests the conclusion that, if the new programme is not larger, it is not to be attributed to the inability of our great industrial associations to undertake more work.

The five submarine vessels are to be of the ‘Holland’ type, and it is expected that one will be ready for trial in the autumn. In the ‘Times’ of March 14 it was reported that the five boats are to be built in England, at Barrow. They are to displace about 120 tons, and are to have one tube for firing torpedoes. It is stated that their speed on the surface is to be from nine to ten knots, and under water from six to seven knots. If experience goes for anything, we may be sure that only the lower limit of speed in each case will be reached. The Navy, once in possession of

this new type of craft, will be able to ascertain what its efficiency promises to be in war; and we may expect that—as figured in the apprehensions of the committee of the French Chamber—experiments will help the ‘unceasingly vigilant genius of inventors to find a weapon to oppose to this new adversary.’ The efficacy of the weapon, if found, will, however, still remain to be proved.

Almost simultaneously with the issue of the Navy Estimates the Boiler Committee, appointed some months ago, sent in an *interim* report, which has been published. It is impossible, within the space at our disposal, to do more than glance at this report. The committee declares itself in favour of water-tube boilers, and recommends that the older type, or so-called ‘Scotch’ boilers, should only be put on board ships for auxiliary purposes, where that course may be convenient. It reports against the Belleville boilers to this extent—that, unless the work has proceeded too far, they should not be put into any more ships. The merits of the Belleville boiler have unfortunately—as too often happens in these days in connection with mere matters of inert material—become a subject of violent controversy, in which we cannot consent to take part. We may, nevertheless, go so far as to say that their merits are more apparent and their defects less conspicuous when they are in charge of engineers who are accustomed to, and interested in, their working. Some of His Majesty’s ships with Belleville boilers have had a tranquil and uneventful history. The case is on all fours with that of other branches of naval material, especially ordnance. The change from muzzle-loading to breech-loading guns was as important as that from cylindrical to water-tube boilers and as necessary. To be useful it had to be carried out on an extensive scale. The inexperienced and the prophets of ill who dread a new thing were as convinced as the opponents of water-tubes that the new guns would not prove efficient. Every failure was magnified. Successes were ignored. To the great advantage of the service, the advocates of breech-loading guns prevailed, and there was a widely extended re-armament of our fleet. Before it was completed, new types of breech-loading ordnance and of mountings appeared; as also have new types of water-tube boilers since the Bellevilles were ordered. The committee has, in our opinion, shown sagacity and courage in the recommendations it has made. It practically suggests with great clearness that the type of water-tube boiler has undergone considerable improvement since

Bellevilles were introduced, and that our Navy ought to be provided with the best.

In the Government plan for preserving our naval position we can see evidence of a true perception of our needs. It is probably correct to assume that had not there been other and enormous demands on the liberality of the taxpayer, a larger programme than that adopted would have been laid before the country. It may be taken that the present is the least which, in the existing condition of the world, any Government would venture to propose. There is, therefore, an opportunity for the country to make known its readiness to support the Government, even if heavier sacrifices are to be called for. There is much similarity in general principles between war by land and war by sea. The war in South Africa has been largely a war of communications. Our efforts for a long time have been principally directed to keeping our communications intact, and the efforts of the Boers to interrupting them. This has been declared to necessitate on our part the employment of an immense force—206,000 in March last—to secure our lines of communication against an enemy only about one-twentieth of our numbers. Any great maritime war in which we may be involved—from the nature of the British Empire, scattered as it is, and the magnitude of our widely distributed ocean commerce—must be essentially a war of communications. Our fleet will be really engaged, notwithstanding the apparent character of special operations, in guarding and keeping open a network of ocean routes, most of them many times longer than the longest line of communication in South Africa. We may hope, and may perhaps have reasonable grounds for believing, that a naval war will be conducted in a manner different from the management of that which has for so many months past distressed the public and wounded our national self-respect; but, if the lessons of war are to be given any value, as they assuredly ought to be, we can learn that the defence of the British Empire requires a larger fleet than that which we possess at present. This is what the nation has got to see; and, let it be said in all seriousness, the sooner it sees it the better for its peace.

In the circumstances the revival of the proposal to hamper the naval administration and impede the freedom of action of the fleet, by making the Admiralty responsible for the garrisoning and defence of the smaller coaling-stations, is greatly to be deplored. The plan, which was in favour with a certain school of military men some years ago, was believed to have

been abandoned in deference to the powerful arguments and practically unanimous disapproval of the most experienced officers of the Navy. It has, however, reappeared. The objections to it are many and serious. The public may be inclined to ask if the War Office, in which the revival originated, has been so completely successful in managing its own business that it would be wise to entrust to it the power of dictating to the Admiralty what the latter ought to do in the matter of Imperial defence. If the plan is adopted there would be caused a great revolution in naval policy, the results of which few can foresee, and which, it can hardly be denied, the advocates of the innovation have not seriously attempted to estimate. All that has been said, not only in this article but also in many speeches, books, and newspapers, as to the naval position of the British Empire and its vast maritime interests within the last ten years, will have been said in vain if the country is not alive to the fact that in a war with a great Power our Navy will have quite enough work of its own to do without taking over, unnecessarily, additional labours and responsibilities. The Admiralty is not even now exactly the place in which the *dolce furniente* can be enjoyed. To load the already overladen Board with more work would be an odd way of improving the defence of the Empire. The argument, so often advanced, that by adoption of the proposed plan the assumed evils of dual command would be removed, is—when we come to close quarters with it—found to be absurd. It is not at the small coaling-stations, which ships visit comparatively rarely, that the assumed evils are most likely to arise; but at the larger places like Malta and Gibraltar, where fleets are pretty sure to be frequently and individual ships almost continuously. Yet these larger places the military authorities are quite prepared to keep and defend. The arguments against the scheme are really too many for statement here. It seems almost enough to say that it is bad and that every responsible naval officer feels it to be so. The contention that we shall be able, if we adopt it, to reinforce our squadrons abroad more readily in war is quite untenable. A garrison is either wanted or it is not. If it is wanted it cannot be withdrawn to serve afloat; if it is not wanted it has no business at the place at all. It is not alleged that the plan would relieve the military administration of more than a small percentage of its work, whilst it would increase that of the naval administration considerably and perhaps disastrously.

ART. III.—1. Théâtre:

La Princesse Maleine. 1 vol. Paris.

Les Aveugles.—L'Intruse.—Intérieur. 1 vol. Paris.

Pelléas et Mélisande. 1 vol. Paris.

Alladine et Palomides, etc. 1 vol. Paris.

Aglavaine et Sélysette. 1 vol. Paris.

2. Prose:

Le Trésor des Humbles. 1 vol. Paris.

La Sagesse et la Destinée. 1 vol. Paris.

IN the developments of a literature, no less than in other developments of social or political life, the reactionist movement is a phase of growth or decay of which contemporary opinion can least estimate the force or predict the abiding influence. The utmost criticism may hazard with safety is to analyse the works of the leaders of such literary movements, and to discriminate, if possible, how far their sentiment is genuinely reactionary in the sense of a living revival of the spirit of the past, or whether it is a mere counterfeit of reaction—a resuscitation only of forms and methods of language under whose arbitrarily adopted guise, mystical or symbolical, the spirit of the present emphasises its novelty, the *modernité* of to-day's fashion, in spiritual plagiarisms of dead centuries.

Amongst such leaders of sentiment M. Maurice Maeterlinck—so far as England is concerned—best represents a foremost school of reaction: the school of the modern mystic. He may be regarded as the pioneer of its ideas in ethics, its methods in art, an interpreter of the contrary currents which thread themselves through the broad tide of scientific materialism; and as such M. Maeterlinck has won the suffrages of a certain growing section of English readers.

The prose volumes in which he has set forth his attitude of mind towards life, belief, and morals have been widely read even by those to whom the doctrines and sentiments of M. Maeterlinck's elected masters in mysticism—Ruysbroeck l'Admirable and Friedrich von Hardenberg (Novalis)—are equally alien both as modes of thought and as modes of feeling. As a playwright he has become the accepted exponent of a dramatic, or rather of a dramatically pictorial, art, for his dramas are dramas of imagination, not action, ostensibly founded upon a basis of transcendental mysticism, and expressed in the figures and metaphors of the modern symbolist. In two volumes he has translated fragments of the writings

—the remote religious and devotional works of the Catholic ascetic of the fourteenth century, the secular mysticism, metaphysical and spiritual, of the philosopher of the eighteenth—of Ruysbroeck and Novalis.* From these, and from other sources akin to these, he has evolved, and to a considerable extent popularised, a scheme of metaphysical idealism, coloured by an imaginative intellectual sensuality—a scheme too vague to be called a system, too restrictedly personal to be called a doctrine, which may be provisionally defined in his plays as the creed of an emotional morality in action, in his essays as the creed of an intuitive morality in repose.

Three leading themes, in their relation to mysticism, engross his attention pre-eminently, if not exclusively—human life as a spiritual earth-existence, with its two greatest of crises, love and death. It is life in its wisdom and unwisdom, exteriorly cast in the mould of an outward destiny, interiorly fashioned after a far other pattern by *la destinée intime*, whose agent is the ultimate and essential soul of man. It is love and death regarded—the before and after are for the most part ignored—from the standpoint of their mortal limitations. And how, having attained by intuition and introspection to some true perception of the intrinsic nature of life, to meet its attendant outward circumstances and incidents is the problem, or rather the enigma, M. Maeterlinck sets before his readers, both in his dramas, his essays, and in the introductory studies prefacing his translations of the ‘*Noces Spirituelles*’ and ‘*Les Disciples à Saïs*.’

It is impossible to formulate rigidly intentions, points of view, conceptions left purposely and of necessity undefined. The abstract ideas treated belong to a region of thought and feeling for which language, with all its resources of utterance, affords, by the confession of those who employ it, but an imperfect and purely symbolic equivalent. ‘Many ‘thoughts are too delicate to be thought, many more to be ‘spoken,’ Novalis, who, perhaps, of all men came nearest to the expression of the impossible, avowed openly, and M. Maeterlinck re-echoes the assertion, ‘Il n’est pas possible ‘de parler clairement de ces choses.’ Yet, leaving on one side hypothetical theories appertaining to altitudes of mind or conditions of consciousness foreign to the general

* ‘L’Ornement des Noces Spirituelles de Ruysbroeck,’ traduit du Flamand; ‘Les Disciples à Saïs, etc., de Novalis,’ traduit de l’Allemand.

experience of mankind, theories neither challenging nor admitting of analysis, his application, or perhaps more accurately his applied interpretation, of some doctrines of elder mysticism to some conditions of modern thought and human life has an aspect neither vague nor indefinable. Words may be inadequate to pourtray the operations, inspiration, and intentions ascribed to *l'âme intime* of the few elect, but it is possible to trace the concrete influence—or defect of influence—of such doctrines transposed into new keys, upon M. Maeterlinck's judgements, his valuations and appraisements of emotions and incidents common to the undistinguished many. If, to put it otherwise, the inaccessible and secret wisdom transcending reason and understanding, coming only as a special revelation to the illuminated, eludes all verbal formulas, we may still investigate what growths—healthful or poisonous, good or evil—germinate in the atmosphere of light which surrounds the chosen spirit. We cannot pretend to see the feet of the forerunners of mystic thought—the feet of messengers who pass in the night—but we may track the footprints left on earth and snow and sand, and divine in their direction a goal. And whether such analysis incline the reader of M. Maeterlinck's works to echo the applause of those docile disciples who descry in him the apostle of a new creed of emotional morals, or whether it tend to increase the number of those who inarticulately but resentfully detect in his writings—to use a harsh term—an element of philosophic charlatanism, from either point of view it may readily be conceded that, as apostle or charlatan of mysticism, he is, amongst contemporary writers, almost its foremost literary artist.

To a certain extent the task both of criticism and appreciation is simplified by the limitations of M. Maeterlinck's outlook. His window opens with a narrow aperture upon the world, and although the vistas that lie open to his gaze stretch into the infinite they are straitly bounded to right and to left. To Novalis, nature—in the ordinary acceptation of the word—with its multitudinous forms of living things, formed a constant background and textbook of speculation and divination, and if at times his mind wandered far, to his heart it was always present. Inanimate for him it never was. Stones, to his fancy, die into plants; plants, in their turn, die into animal life. Maladies are but processes of transition into higher phases of being; human-kind is but the elder, spirit-endowed, brother of one great family of creation's children. Are

not, he asks, the herbs daughters, and the beasts sons of earth, our mother; do not they also touch unseen horizons? ‘Le monde des fleurs est un infini lointain.’ ‘Il y a maintes fleurs en ce monde qui ne sont d’origine supraterrestre.’ And are they not the sleeping-place of the sleepless, the rest of unrest? ‘La sieste du royaume spirituel est le monde floral.’ And as he found in earth joy, no less did he draw a continual stimulus to reflection from the intellectual, physical, and social aspects of the human race. History, science, art, all serve him as the basis of thought; each had the power of awakening or arresting his sympathetic attention, and of kindling the fantastic fires of his imaginative faculties. Beside him M. Maeterlinck, both as thinker and artist, is curiously restricted. His interests are concentrated upon the moods of humanity alone, his sympathies are absorbed in the contemplation of men’s emotions, griefs, and desires. Moreover these are surveyed, almost exclusively, in relation, on the one hand, to that remote dweller within the threshold of life to whom he awards the distinction of *l’âme intérieure*, in relation, on the other hand, to those outward events, the results of chance or law, which, allied with the instincts of *l’âme extérieure*, fashion the mortal destiny of each individual personality.

In very truth it might be said that that veiled soul of the soul, equally (and immeasurably) distant from the outer—the sense-soul of the body and from the body itself, constitutes the background of every thought and of every action expressed or pourtrayed. Mystics old and new, genuine and spurious, have one and all recognised, and attempted some manner of definition, negative or affirmative, of this ultimate principle of spirituality. ‘The soul is bi-partite; it has its higher and lower portious,’ and the higher ‘sees the divine images,’ without intermediaries of word or symbol. ‘There is in the soul something which is above the soul. Sometimes I have called it a power, sometimes an uncreated light, sometimes a divine spark.’* ‘L’âme est en rapport avec l’esprit comme le corps avec l’univers.’† And, expressed or implied, the assumption of that trinity of personality, body, sense-soul, and spirit-soul—whatever be the exact nomenclature adopted—lies at the root of all M. Maeterlinck’s conceptions, and is, further, the

* Dionysius the Areopagite. Eckhart (quoted in the Bampton Lectures, 1899).

† Novalis.

rational source of much which appears paradoxical, of much which is incoherent, in his presentations of life and character.

For, while the lives of the body, the sense-soul and the spirit-soul, are lived simultaneously—run, as Novalis expresses it, on parallel lines—the three, although wedded now more now less intimately, are not fused. Their histories are always separable, sometimes incongruous. What is true of all as allied may be false of either as independent. Moreover, exteriorily, action, thought, emotion may proceed from actual sources, alternating with ideal sources. ‘Il y a ‘une série d’événements idéaux parallèles à la réalité . . . ‘ils coincident rarement;’* and if now here, now there the double train of events, inward and outward, tend, under pressure of the will, to correspondence in kind (‘chez celui ‘qui a beaucoup d’esprit en un certain sens tout devient ‘unique’’*), more often the sense-soul and body, the two sympathetic members of the triumvirate, go their own way. When they abide swayed by the secret decrees of the divinely illuminated inner principle, coloured by its hidden prompting, they combine to bend the path of destiny itself towards the goal of wisdom. But, when severed by the action of the insurgent will of the outer personality from the benign influence of that soul of the soul, they fall, with passions darkened and distorted, a helpless prey to all those catastrophes of chance that lie in wait for their undoing. They perpetrate sins, are guilty of crimes which the soul, royally seated within that impregnable fortress of ‘the goodly ‘will that never assented unto sin, ne never shall,’† ignores to all eternity; sins, crimes, to which the soul may say, ‘I know you not:’ ‘ils ont été commis à mille lieues de son ‘trône.’

Yet, whatever abstract doctrines of recondite mysticism lie at the base of M. Maeterlinck’s philosophy of life spiritual and life material, the position he consistently occupies is far more characteristic of an apostle of emotional morality than of a doctor of a theoretic and dogmatic transcendentalism. In his prose works his exposition of faith is as definite a picture of the modes of feeling induced by the mental attitude of modern mysticism as, it may be, is possible. Accepting as groundwork the hypothesis of an intuitive perception of truth—founded on ‘les raisons sentiellementales’—he proceeds to inquire, by a purposely frag-

* Novalis.

† Julian of Norwich.

mentary and inconsecutive method, how such wisdom, when imparted by the inner soul to the outward, may serve to render a man master (the mastery, like much else, is somewhat vaguely qualified) of that impersonal force embodied in outward circumstances and designated by the term of *la destinée extérieure*, with its main crises, love and death. In his dramas he has depicted that same destiny and that same wisdom in their action upon human emotions, contending, if the word may be used with reference to that principle of passive spiritual majesty the soul, for sovereignty with varied and fluctuating results. But while it is more or less essential, for any clear comprehension of M. Maeterlinck's dramatic intentions, to preface the study of his dramas with the study of his prose, it must be remembered that in order of publication the dramas are antecedent to the essays, and that between the earliest and latest works the literary growth, or, more accurately, the literary transitions, are manifest in a marked variation of mental attitude—a transference not so much of thought as of accent. Almost it would appear that the imaginative emotional impulses constituting the dominant motive of his early lyrics* may be taken as exemplifying the besetting but passive form of the malady of life. In the earlier dramas the same malady, in its more active developements of human misery, is still the theme, and although the existence of possible remedies is dimly apparent, while here and there the soul works its miracles of healing, the malady, in the aggregate, prevails. But in the prose works attention is confessedly directed to the reverse aspect of the maladies of humanity, to serene contemplations of the interior and persistent wisdom of all souls, and to the manner after which, radiating from within to without, it may refashion sorrows into joys, ills into benedictions, and fever into peace. So regarded the relation borne by 'Serres Chaudes' to his latest volume, 'La Sagesse et la 'Destinée,' might be defined as the relationship—a true one—necessarily existing between poison and antidote. Yet however and in whatsoever order we read, whether we take the action of his dramas as the interpretation of his mode of thought or his thoughts as the interpretation of his dramatic method, it is from his prose works we may best gather a clear idea of the standpoint from which he views life—the life of earth-existence as a whole, as a universal

* 'Serres Chaudes,' Bruxelles.

condition of being, governed by general laws, subject to inevitable influences, and outstretched between two blank infinities.

With respect to life M. Maeterlinck's point of view differs necessarily from that of the mysticism of the past. For the Catholic mystic not only was the doctrine of the intuitive certitudes of divine Truth closely, if not inseparably, bound up with the principles of the ascetic life, with the practice of obedience, of abstinence, of humility and mortification, 'l'abnégation stérile, la pudeur, la chasteté arbitraire, le renoncement aveugle, la soumission obscure, 'l'esprit de pénitence,' and the other 'parasite virtues' of M. Maeterlinck's catalogue, but life itself bore one sole aspect, that of a probation and a pilgrimage. Man, to the medieval Christian, was an exile; earth, his place of banishment; the body, a hindrance if not an enemy; and unregenerated human nature, an inheritance of certain perdition. For him, whatever had been their primary virtue, the Fall (even mystically interpreted) had radically contaminated the natural and physical instincts of humanity, and mysticism found its recruits mainly amongst those men and women who, steeped in the heroic traditions of the ascetic life, repudiated not only those indulgences generally prohibited by all Christians, but likewise the most innocent of earthly affections and secular joys, repressing, with the strenuous endeavours of their will, every craving, every need of manhood and womanhood of which God might not be claimed as the source, the centre, and the goal. In the religious philosophy of German Protestantism, mysticism, retaining its associations with the moral laws of Christianity, made its first descent from the ascetic life, and, discarding the purely religious garb, entered upon a more varied and secular, and, as it were, a more domestic phase. It assumed, with Novalis, so far as the life of earth was concerned, a more human aspect. A sunny friendliness is the general characteristic of his references to all growths of the earth. Nature around is sacred to him in her unfathomable mysteries, dear to him as healing and solace, the home whose doors always stand open for who will to enter. Men, like spoilt children fearing their father, may turn to her and seek 'un refuge près de leur mère.' In the half-fantastic language of his romance he has made his old gardener-sage the spokesman of that earth love which is so clear a feature in art when present in its spontaneous sincerity, and shows so poor a countenance when forced and counterfeit. The plants are for him the

direct speech of the earth ; each new leaf, each marvellous blossom, is some secret upspringing, which, as it cannot quicken to love and desire, as it cannot transmute itself into words, becomes a mute, tranquil plant.

' If in some solitary place one finds such a flower is it not as if it illuminated all around, and is it not there where the small, winged voices most willingly abide ? Well might he that sees weep for joy, and, severed from the world, set hands and feet in the earth to strike root there, and never more abandon that happy companionship. . . . Over the whole dry land this green coverlet of love is outspread. With each spring it is renewed, and its strange inscription is read only by the Beloved. . . . Ever he reads, and is not satiated with reading and daily beholds therein new revelations.'

This eternal joy is the hidden spell which the earth's surface holds for the feet of men, while it solves the riddle of life, and men henceforth divine whence the road comes and whither it goes.

And this riddle of the whence and the whither, the question of the before and after, comes to Novalis as a doubt, it may be, but a doubt undarkened by fear, and tinted with the rainbow colours of his own hopeful moods. It is difficult not to believe that, in spite of all its reverses, life, in his own phrase, was for him '*le commencement d'un roman sans 'fin.'*' And death was but the passage of life to life. Is it not possible, he asks, that some nativities are but the dyings of the pre-existent spirit ? ' N'y aurait-il pas aussi une mort ' de l'autre côté, dont le résultat serait la naissance ' terrestre ? ' Birth he conceives of as '*un choix primitif,*' and, once terrestrialised, life, with its winged desires, in his often-quoted sentence is '*not a dream, but may become 'one.'*' Here and there truly passages recur bearing the impress of lapses into cloudier thoughts, but the simple and childlike open-handedness with which, in the depth of his own personal grief, he accepts consolation, gives the true note to his philosophy, and if more than once he allows that '*life is a malady*' he is in the same breath eager to demonstrate that disease is itself a very important element for humanity, of which we know but imperfectly the use. '*Were I to become its prophet !*' adds the man on whom, in very truth, its heaviest hand had been laid.

After such a fashion Novalis, profound 'thinker as he was, thinks his thoughts, not as a teacher severed from the herd, but as the member of a well loved fraternity of trees and four-footed beasts and birds and men. Moreover the mind of the least learned may recognise in reading the

pervading presence of that sentiment of kindly brotherhood. Human affections—purified of their dross—are with him the levers of the spiritual life. ‘The true measure of a thing is ‘its utmost compass’ is an axiom with him, and the span of human love is the measure of infinity. Love is the knowledge of immortality, it is more—‘was ist die Religion als ein ‘unendliches Einverständniss, eine ewige Vereinigung liebender Herzen.’ And as Novalis wrote so he lived, the joys, the affections of earth reinstated as the deepest educational experiences of the soul, his own love for the child-betrothed, who was to him as Beatrice to Dante, the consecrating, stimulating, ennobling influence of a life dedicated soul and spirit—‘les deux lignes partent de l’homme et ‘finissent en Dieu’—to the attainment of the highest.

With M. Maeterlinck mysticism in respect to life has entered upon a different phase. And although so far his attitude admits of no strictly definite analysis the uniform impression left upon the reader, despite the tranquil philosophy of the volume which we may accept as representing his latest convictions, is that of a profound, passive, and acquiescent melancholy. He deals scrupulously and at length with many of the tangled problems, the besetting questions, of existence abstract and actual. But the three great darknessees of the questioning spirit—the whence, the wherefore, and the whither—are barely indicated; and although the answer given by individual belief to the enigmas of the eternities of the past and future of the soul, although the reply to that yet more inscrutable ‘why’ might seem to be factors of paramount importance in the formation of that ‘vie intérieure’ which absorbs his attention, he has elected to pass them by in premeditated and almost unbroken silence.

It is with the present, and emphatically with it alone, that he deals in the volume which we may fairly take as the epitome of his opinions. Life, as here interpreted, lies for him between two abysses, *la destinée intérieure*, the destiny *intime* of the soul 'of souls, and *la destinée extérieure*, a destiny which ‘lorsqu'il est libre ne veut guère que le mal.’ Allied with our instincts ('ils rodent la main dans la main') it becomes ‘la fatalité noire,’ the adversary of joy, the devastator of human happiness. Wisdom, the wisdom emanating from the secret sources of the soul, is the only mould in which the sage may recast the effects if he cannot change the course of outward events. ‘En élargissant, en ‘développant notre activité nous nous transformerons en ‘fatalité,’ is Novalis’s succinct statement of the doctrine to

which M. Maeterlinck gives reiterated and vivid expression. ‘ Si Judas sort ce soir il ira vers Judas et aura l’occasion de trahir . . . si Socrate ouvre sa porte il trouvera Socrate endormi sur le seuil et aura l’occasion d’être sage. . . . Il n’arrive jamais de grands événements intérieurs à ceux qui n’ont fait rien pour les appeler à eux.’ The life of man is represented as a beleaguered city; every place which is not occupied by the force of the soul is usurped by antagonistic forces (‘ tout vide dans le cœur ou dans l’intelligence devient le réservoir d’influences fatales ’), forces assailing us in what is named the ‘ provisional darkness ’ of this world. Misery and happiness depend upon the issues of the siege, while ‘ nos aventures errent autour de nous,’ like within attracting like without.

As concerns the balance of joy and grief, there can be but little question which way it tends. Although M. Maeterlinck starts with an initial assumption that man is meant for happiness as the body for health (‘ l’humanité est faite pour être heureuse ’) the intention of creation has proved hitherto abortive. For the moment ‘ la misère est une maladie de l’humanité comme la maladie est une misère de l’homme.’ ‘ Le malheur est sorti de l’enfance depuis des centaines de siècles . . . le bonheur dort encore dans les langes.’ And, when passing from his considerations of *sagesse*, destiny, calamity, and misfortune, he treats of the nature of happiness, in spite of his unfailing felicity of expression M. Maeterlinck cannot convince his readers that he is at home with his subject. Happiness, although its root-source may indeed lie in the deepest recesses of wisdom, must, by the test of general experience, find its daily aliment in little things. M. Maeterlinck’s happiness ignores such irrational aliments, and in so doing divests itself of its buoyancy, its freshness, and its youth. ‘ Etre heureux, c’est d’avoir dépassé l’inquiétude du bonheur ’ is a typical article of his creed of joy. For him happiness is resignation, it is quietude, it is consolation, it is the negation of sadness and unrest, the acquiescence that annuls the pain of disillusion, the calm of the wreck which has reached the shore. But who of the unmystic laity will call it happiness? or if happiness, well may it be said, ‘ La joie fait peur ! ’ ‘ Be gay, my daughter,’ be gay,’ was Ruysbroeck’s reiterated counsel to his spiritual daughter in her life of devotion to the sick and dying. But the wisdom of later mysticism has no use for gaiety. It has no play-time, no light-heartedness, no vitality, and no promise;

it may be the fruit of eternity, but it is not the flower of life. In Hazlitt's phrase it would seem almost to assert that gaiety is incompatible with joy—'too gay to be happy, ' too happy to be gay.'

Yet destiny, howsoever it wounds, shall be justified of its children. 'Tout ce qui nous soutient, tout ce qui nous 'assiste, dans la vie physique comme dans la vie morale, 'vient d'une sorte de justification lente et graduelle, de 'la force inconnue qui nous parut d'abord impitoyable ;' and, moreover, it is man himself who arms fatality, 'Nous ne souffrons que dans la mesure où nous co-opérons à nos souffrances,' says Novalis, and Maeterlinck again emphasises the axiom, in one of those brief figurative phrases which give his sentences a singular hold upon the memory : 'Il n'a d'autres armes que celles que nous lui 'tendons.'

And, all the while, neither glad nor yet sorry—for nothing can cast a shadow where the light burns from within—the ultimate allwise soul, immaculate as snow, sits in the silence which is her voice, while the tortured tides of life, loves, hates, sins, despairs, hopes, and desires surge round her throne. And soul with soul holds communion in those moments 'où les âmes se touchent et 'savent tout sans que l'on ait besoin de remuer les lèvres,' and each soul, from amongst all souls, chooses with close-shut lips its elect fellowship. The hands of man or woman touch, their voices speak one with another, their hearts beat in accord, but, beneath and beyond, the hands of the soul are outstretched to accept or reject, according to far other rules and in fulfilment of far other decrees. It seeks no confidant in the bodily senses or affections ; men live with but dim cognisance of its loves, its gifts, or its denials ; the pleasures and pains of the body are, again to quote Novalis, merely the sensations of the soul's dreams. Arbitrary and absolute, it cherishes what man refuses, and knits its own bonds in regions where the heart, the reason, and the senses tread only as alien guests, where the stained mantle of guilt drops from the sinner in the commonwealth of the spirit, and 'l'âme d'un forçat viendra se taire divinement 'avec l'âme d'une vierge.'

So the two destinies, of which life embodies the action and counteraction, are once again brought into juxtaposition—the one whose abode is silence, the other which dwells in the realm of sound. And life sways for ever between that silence and that sound—a silence where all

things infinite are made known, a sound where all things infinite are forgotten.

Such are some of the aspects, so far as a few sentences may represent the areas of thought M. Maeterlinck's pages cover, under whose guise the life of man is pictured. Of that other life which occupied so large a place in the meditations of Novalis—the earth-life of man's environment—there is little mention. In the prose works Nature scarcely appears in faint allusion. In the often elaborate stage directions of his dramas, as in the references of the dialogues to the scenes where the *dramatis personæ* meet, Nature is merely a symbolic *décor de théâtre*, a word-painted emphasis of thought, a ‘végétation de symboles.’ The lives of his characters are for the most part spent in solitary castles with interminable corridors and many-windowed, many-doored rooms. Beneath are sunken vaults leading none know whither; deep, stagnant moats encompass the walls. Fountains, of fathomless depths, serve for the garden trysts of lovers. Beyond are enclosing forests or, it may be, endless marshes, near at hand sullen or more rarely moon-illuminated seas. Somewhere are mountains, and always mists—mists that brood over sea and land, mists that drift, mists stationary and vaporous, mists that come and go, with poison of fever or poison of chill in their breath; mists that are like persons of the play with exits and entrances. There are sudden winds that seem to fall into sudden silences, shadows that outline the narrow spaces of light, dull heats that trail evil after them through the night, and waters whose profound sleep may be heard by the ear that stoops to listen. And flowers, trees, grass, storm and calm, sea and forest, nature and earth are all steeped, enveloped, in an all-permeating atmosphere of emotional humanity, from which there is neither evasion nor enfranchisement possible on any page M. Maeterlinck has ever penned. He has, it might be said, reversed the order of creation: man is the initial letter of his alphabet, as it is his last word. Every phenomenon, every denizen, animal or vegetable, of earth exists only for its human double-entendre—a mood, an emotion, a catastrophe of human life. Prophet meteors, like the tears of stars, have ‘l'air de verser ‘du sang’ over Maleine's bridal roof. The sky is black and the moon red; the withered leaves of the willow fall on the hands of the lovers predestined to death. The wind-blown drops of the water-jet baptise their brows for the grave. And if in later dramas the melodrama of nature

is indicated with more reticence, nature is still strictly utilised for purposes of theatrical symbolism. The blood-streaked swan floating in the moat beneath the window where the little princess lies murdered; 'l'agneau familier' of Alladine, who at the approach of Palomides escapes from her hold to drown in the swirl of the turbulent stream; the doves of Mélisande, flying white fugitives from the tower where Pelléas, standing below, in the scene which repeats the wooing of Rapunzel, sends his kisses to her lips by the ladder of her luminous hair, belong to the same animal world. Earth's children have caught the contagions of humanity, nature is blemished with the infection of its maladies, its sorrows, sins, loves, and deaths; they are but the beast masques of a tragic pantomime.

The masked element is indeed an essential characteristic of those dramas where M. Maeterlinck deals with the two great crises of life—Love and Death—and with that destiny which, in relation to life, constitutes the leading thought of his prose works. 'Souvent,' wrote Novalis, speaking of romance proper, 'il contient les événements d'une mascarade . . . un événement masqué entre personnes masquées.' And no one has applied the conception of romance so defined with more originality and subtlety in the performance than M. Maeterlinck. Life in his plays is a symbol within a symbol. His characters stand in relation to actuality, not as symbols of types, but as counterfeit presentations of single individualities in whose personality a phase of emotion finds its embodiment. His incidents, often violent to the brink of extravagance, are but a shadow pageantry, an outward framework on whose surface emotion may be mirrored. Episodes and characters are alike the mere threads on which passion's rosary is strung, and emotion in itself is virtually both plot and episode.

The method, so far as it admits of a rough analysis, varies but little in the nine dramas or dramatic scenes which bear his signature. We are usually confronted with a group of actors, who by a first touch, significantly indicative of a first remove from the exacting realities of life, are mostly relegated to the ranks of an indeterminate royalty. Amongst them the distinctive grades of life in its temporal conditions are generally introduced—old age, with the manhood and womanhood leaning towards the same incline; childhood, with the youth that still scales the ascent at whose base lies infancy. It is life severed into those great divisions defined by Novalis with an intuitive accuracy that

rejects the fallible measuring-line of years—‘youth—when ‘the future; age—when the past, predominates.’ Having before us this representative group—man, woman, child—we are made aware of the relationships they bear one to another, relationships sometimes founded upon the fellowships of the soul, more often only soldered by the hands of destiny at the forge of fate. We see the central figures subjected to the influence of those vast impersonal factors in human life, those ‘three unsent-for things,’ the passions of the Gaelic proverb, love, jealousy, and fear; likewise to the influence of those other passions which may be taken as emanations of the soul, pity, the self-condemnation in which all other men’s sins find pardon, and, as in ‘Aglavaine ‘et Sélysette,’ the love whose pulse is sacrifice. And each man, each woman draws to himself or to her that special catastrophe, emotional or actual, which is in affinity with his or her individual temperament, or with that inscrutable personality that lies behind temperament. Where the wisdom of *l’âme intérieure* leaves the entrances of life unguarded, love, hate, suffering, and death approach what in most instances must be regarded as their unresisting victim, and the emotion possessed of its prey henceforth dominates the scene. Love, suffering, hate, or pity, whatever the master-passion may be, flashes momentarily its dyed limelight upon the face of girl or woman man or youth—faces that heretofore moved before us in the pallid neutrality of a human puppet-show. For a brief instant the voices ring clear and sharp as the voices of sleepers awakened; some vivid vitality seems stirring towards birth. Then the mist of that dusk twilight of morning or evening, which lies like a grey veil between us and the actors in M. Maeterlinck’s dramas, floats back enclosing all; the colours are lost in it, the strings of life are muted almost before they were touched, the sound of the feet of those who pass is muffled as feet barefooted on snow. The curtain falls on figures faint as shadows, on words which are but as echoes, intermingled and confused, while the consistent incoherency of the sentences would seem now to relate to ‘les événements idéaux,’ now to the parallel train of actualities. They are phrases which come as it were from two severed planes of existence, and express the contradictions resulting from the interactions of soul and body, contributing not a little to the apparently intentional obscurity of outline—the literary atmospheric effect—of M. Maeterlinck’s art.

The plays themselves admit of two broad divisions—love dramas, where the passion belongs to the region of the emotions; death dramas, where the appeal to the imagination is based mainly upon the nerves.

In love, as in life, M. Maeterlinck recognises a duality of nature, ‘l’amour prédestinée et véritable,’ whose fountain head is in ‘les grandes villes spirituelles où nous vivons sans ‘le savoir,’ and those other loves severed from *la vie intime*, loves human and of earth, exiles of the soul. ‘Notre vie se ‘passe à mille lieues de l’amour . . . Notre maîtresse nous ‘abandonne . . . nos yeux pleurent mais notre âme ne ‘pleure pas.’ ‘Ces baisers refuseront de s’ajouter aux ‘baisers réels de notre vie.’ ‘Les passions de l’esprit et du ‘cœur, aux yeux d’une intelligence étrangère, ressemblent ‘raient à des querelles de clochers.’ The picture of Othello’s love, turned to jealousy as Shakespeare drew it, ‘est définitive dans les premiers cercles de l’homme,’ but it penetrates no further; ‘il doit se passer dans son âme . . . des ‘événements mille fois plus sublimes.’ So sentence after sentence of his prose may be multiplied, denoting the severance of those divided loves of the soul within and of the soul without.

In the dramas in some secondary, in one principal character (Sélysette), we catch glimpses of that fashion of loving which is ‘le soleil inconscient de notre âme.’ But for the most part love, as Novalis defines it, ‘le produit de ‘l’action réciproque de deux individus,’ the specialised attraction of man for woman, of woman for man, appears mainly as a death lure to human hearts--to their truth, to their loyalty, to their joy. In M. Maeterlinck’s best known dramas he conceives of the nature of love after a manner especially his own. Between the theoretical conceptions of love as wholly spiritual or as wholly material there lie for most of us the idea of innumerable intermediate loves, loves of as many aspects as the flame of burning saltwood has colours, where body and soul, in infinitely differing proportions, play each their generating part. In the romance of Novalis, as in his other writings, love born of both, receives of each its own element of perfectness, a perfectness which, in relation to humanity, either without the concurrence of the other, could not attain. For Novalis, according to the simplest interpretation of what is rather an atmosphere than a dogma of thought, the body supplies corporeal form, incarnating the spirit, while the soul endows matter, ‘the shadow of the ‘inward image,’ with its spiritual vitality, its infinity, its

immortality. Conjointly, and in the union of the two, the fire that consumes becomes the flame that aspires, and love's strength, in a new sense, is 'centred in his wings.' The form, truly, fades, but 'on ne peut aimer vraiment que 'l'amour,' and love, redeemed of earth, is no longer of time but of eternity. 'Was mich so unzertrennlich zu dir zieht,' so Heinrich confesses his creed, 'ist nicht aus dieser Zeit.' The stream, the rushing death-river, that in Heinrich's vision divides for an hour the lovers who love upon earth, becomes, as the dream progresses, the blue firmament over their heads in the land where the divided meet. And in one fragmentary sentence, which a half-drawn breath, as it were, of personal passion sets apart from the rest, he writes, 'Une union qui se fait aussi pour la mort est un mariage qui nous donne une compagne pour la nuit.'

For the nature of the passion as drawn by M. Maeterlinck neither body nor soul can claim or share responsibility. Four of his plays only, strictly speaking, are love dramas. In three out of the four the abstract theme is an involuntary, semi-conscious, and wholly emotional passion, an ambushed calamity of *la destinée extérieure*. In two, 'Alladine et Palomides,' 'Pelléas et Mélisande,' the circumstances and the march—the funeral march—of events are more or less similar: love gives what is not its own to give, and love takes what belongs in honour to another. In 'La Princesse Maleine,' a grim and complicated version of the ever recurrent *Märchen* of the True Bride, love seeks, though even so with defect of truth, what is its own, but what, if it were not its own, we divine it would equally seek. In 'Aglavaine et Sélysette' the mental scene changes. The soul takes its part in the passion of both women, but, in Aglavaine's own words, the ways of the soul are still the ways of the soul, and the ways of the heart—the hearts of woman and man—are still the ways of hearts, whether the soul participate or no.

'Aglavaine (to Sélysette): Je t'aime, j'aime Méléandre, Méléandre m'aime, il t'aime aussi, tu nous aimes l'un et l'autre, et cependant nous ne pourrions pas vivre heureux, parce que l'heure n'est pas encore venue où les êtres humains peuvent s'unir ainsi.'

One and all are tragedies; love allowed, no less than love disallowed, comes only to end in disaster. In Mélisande, Alladine, and Maleine—figures typically representative of the central feminine figures of M. Maeterlinck's creation—the love and the fashion of loving scarcely admit of distinction; and it is love, so far as Mélisande and Alladine are

concerned, represented in antagonism to all loyalties, truths, and generosities of human nature. In both plays it obliterates for man and woman alike every affection which controverts the egoism of passion. Alladine loves Palomides, in spite of the bonds existing between her and the old king, in whom pain and jealousy unhinge reason. Palomides loves Alladine, in spite of his troth-giving to Astolaine, sacrificing the faith in which he dimly discerns his frustrated soul's true destiny with the avowal, made to Astolaine, ' Je t'aime aussi . . . plus que celle que j'aime.' Mélisande, succoured, shielded, cherished by Goland, under the shelter of her husband's tenderness and trust, carrying his unborn child at her heart, keeps lover's tryst with Pélleas, supplementing untruth of deed with untruth of tongue. While Pélleas, despite his soul's faint protest, the futile stirrings, the whispering remorses of his nobler manhood, signs a truce with disloyalty, and betrays his brother's honour with tame self-acquittal, ' nous' (himself and Mélisande) ' nous ' ne faisons ce que nous voulons.'

Love romance of all times since Cressida forsook Troilus, Francesca loved Paolo, Iseult Tristram, have familiarised readers with results no less disastrous of the supremacy of passion over will. And it is not in the effects, but in the nature of love, as M. Maeterlinck pourtrays it, that his dramas stand thrice removed from the lovers' tales of the days of Gottfried von Strasburg, Chaucer, Dante, Shakespeare, and his fellows. It is, to repeat the definition, a purely emotional passion, upspringing, a graft from without, in some neutral region of a human personality, a graft generated in that *destinée extérieure* from whose shut hands the soul alone could have wrested another fate. And here the soul holds itself silent and apart. It is no factor in the tragedy ; fate, the hazard of destiny, is sole agent, and usurps undisputed sway. ' Je croyais que tu avais agi comme ' nous agissons presque tous . . . sans que rien de notre ' âme intervienne,' the old forsaken king tells Alladine ; while Palomides in his troth-breaking confesses himself the helpless victim of chance. ' Un hasard est venu, et j'ai ' reconnu qu'il devait y avoir une chose plus incompréhen- ' sible que la beauté de l'âme la plus belle ou du visage le ' plus beau, et plus puissant,' and in the contradictions of the dialogue between Pélleas and Mélisande—

' Pélleas : Depuis quand m'aimes-tu ?

Mélisande : Depuis toujours.

Pélleas : Je ne t'aimais pas la première fois que je t'ai vue.

Mélisande : Moi non plus.'—

we are given to understand that fate, 'le hasard noir,' is again responsible. But if the soul, exempt from every blame, uncontaminated by every wrong-doing, remains unstirred within its citadel of wisdom, if it has neither lot nor part in emotions, neither blameless nor white-handed, neither can we feel for one moment that we are, on the other hand, in the saving presence of those earth-born instincts 'les animaux supérieurs,' as Novalis names the healthful senses of the material man, whose impulses dominated for good or ill the lives of the love-heroines of earlier days. From them sprang the passions of unspiritualised natures, of an Iseult for a Tristram, of Shakespeare's Cleopatra for an Anthony. But fierce, vital, jealous, reckless, and free, leading to evil it may be, they retain the virtues of their guilt. They are passions of instinct, but not of ignoble instincts, passions of sense, but of undegraded senses, passions of natures which have, even in their fever, health, and possess every strength of man-and womanhood, save the climax and concentration of strength, self-control. That they lack something in their materialism is doubtless true. In passion, as in all things else, spirit is the extension of matter. It is, to quote Novalis's metaphor, borrowed from the grammar of sound, 'as the vowel to the consonant.' Yet, if the soul has denied to them that admixture of spirituality which, surmounting all earthly barriers, possesses the horizonless infinite, they lack that alone, and as geniis has painted them touch the outmost boundary of mortality.

But, mortal or infinite, no such primitive storm-winds sweep across the misted seas or shake the dim forests in M. Maeterlinck's dramas. In them the senses are summoned only to a semi-conscious automatic co-operation with the emotions. The will, the brain, all faculties of action succumb, as if blunted under a spell. They become as the will, thought, deeds of the somnambulist, and the passiveness of sleep underlies the utmost violence of word or act. Moreover, in part it would seem from the characteristically modern taste for the juxtaposition of incongruities, but also from a desire to emphasise the incorporeal origin of the emotional passion, it is depicted as (or at least it produces the effect of) an emotion of womanhood transplanted into a childhood, a parasite which, like the strangling creepers with close-leaved tendrils and strange-hued, heavy-scented blossoms, of sudden tropical growths, enfolds its child-prey, bringing in its embrace sickness of heart and body, chill languors, fever, contagion, and death.

Euphrasia, who plays the time-honoured part of the girl-page in Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Philaster,' perhaps comes nearest in English dramatic romance to the type of *l'enfant-femme*, to which category all M. Maeterlinck's heroines belong; but the points of likeness do little more than enhance the sense of dissimilitude between the older and later dramatists. Euphrasia loves Philaster with as reckless and selfless devotion as, with a more complete self-oblivion than, Maleine Hjalmar or Mélisande Pélléas. Yet Euphrasia's passion formulates no pleas of ignorance; it is no blind, unconscious instinct coming nowhence, and so far as the will is concerned, tending nowhither. It is love sharply defined, a child's wholly imaginative worship springing from a child's preconceived ideal of the manhood she sees embodied in visible shape by the hero of her visions. Her passion asks for and wins no recompense of love, demands no response, claims nothing save the inalienable right to give, and throughout no jarring note of premature womanhood taints the freshness and freedom of the image, and no words in all the play ring truer than her own appraisement of the life she is eager to surrender:

‘ ‘Tis not a life,
‘Tis but a piece of childhood thrown away,’

a piece of childhood, of which are the kingdoms of loyalty, truth, and honour.

M. Maeterlinck's conception is a creation of a later phase of the world imagination. The framework of his figures—whose youth is insistently accentuated—is still, indeed, that of a childhood. We are shown the fragile childhood of a fragile child with the hands, the voice, eyes, feet, lips of an unawakened life, while far within a silent soul sleeps untroubled upon a distant throne. And the emotional passion by which her heart is overtaken penetrates neither body nor soul. It is barely more than a vaporous poisoning breath that blurs the crystal surface of the vase of life—but all the clearness of the crystal is gone. The frame of childhood fades, childhood itself withers to death. Maleine sickens of a nameless malady even before the queen has drawn the cord around the small throat of her victim.

‘ *Maleine* : Mon Dieu ! mon Dieu ! comme je suis malade ! Et je ne sais pas ce que j'ai . . . et personne ne sait pas ce que j'ai, le médecin ne sait pas ce que j'ai, ma nourrice ne sait pas ce que j'ai, Hjalmar ne sait pas ce que j'ai.’

Alladine and Palomides, rescued from the subterranean

grotto of their last love scene, where daylight—‘la lumière qui n'a pas eu pitié’—had changed the crystallised gems of the darkness and the fire-hearted roses of the night into sombre flints and damp earth stains,

‘*Alladine* : Ce n'étaient pas des pierreries.

Palomides : Et les fleurs n'étaient pas réelles ’)

die, though the peril of the waterpools is overpast.

‘*Le Médecin* : Ils souffrent tous les deux du même mal, et c'est un mal que je ne connais pas.’

Mélisande, wounded with a wound of which ‘un petit oiseau ne serait pas mort,’ dies, as she was born, ‘sans raison.’ And reading a symbol within a symbol into such death scenes, it may well seem that it is not Maleine, Alladine, Mélisande, but childhood itself which there expires, stricken to a hereafterless death by emotions whose association with childhood is a malady of the imagination. Such emotions, rooted in their fitting soil, set in their proper groundwork of womanhood, transpierced with the love of a woman's soul, and welded with the earth-born love of a woman's instincts—no less God-given because more overtly human are the vitality of life. Severed from the true conditions of health by a morbid prematurity of development, they become, as M. Maeterlinck has evidenced, the vitality of disease physical and moral. Childhood has come too recently from the freedom of the infinite to bear the narrow yoke of passion's servitude. At the first touch of the chain it sickens for the wide horizon of its pre-natal homeland, and, though life may survive, the woman in all the years to come must bear with her the burden of that slain childhood she has lost for ever. ‘Il y a des enfants qui ne sont pas des enfants,’ says Novalis, and Alladine, Mélisande, Maleine are of that all-pitiful race. It will take more than the genius of M. Maeterlinck to make the type acceptable; it will also take more than his genius, with all the accessory mists, the obscurities, and unrealities of symbolic drama to reconcile us with his conception of an innocence unimpaired by untruth of word and deed, ‘la morale mystique,’ as here set in action. —‘As-tu—avez-vous été coupables?’ asks Goland, claiming the truth that he may absolve the sin. *Mélisande*: ‘Non, non, nous n'avons pas été coupables.’—‘L'innocence,’ wrote Novalis, ‘est un instinct moral.’ Setting aside the question of purity of heart and clean-handedness of life, it is an instinct which recognises, even if it has not strength to renounce, that lies are not truth, and deception is not honour, and though

the immaculate soul of the sinner, according to M. Maeterlinck's theory, may carry 'dans ses yeux le sourire trans-parent de l'enfant,' the tears of Mélisande's last hour may be truly, as the old king watching says, the tears of 'son âme qui pleure,' mourning the childhood of which the frail passion of an anticipated womanhood has robbed her.

And as in his love dramas M. Maeterlinck has discarded the ideal union of the soul and body of love, so his death dramas translate us into an atmosphere far removed from the illuminated cloud-land of Novalis's mysticism. The attitude of the elder mystic towards death was definite, it was one of resolute serenity; 'la mort est une victoire sur soi-même qui, comme toute victoire sur soi-même, procure une nouvelle existence plus légère.' Death is the 'great illusion,' it is not the subjugation but the triumphant emancipation of life, the gallant exit of the soul from its earthly exile. 'L'homme peut devenir enthousiaste de la maladie . . . et considérer la mort comme une union plus étroite d'êtres aimants.' 'Une pièce de la vie du monde,' wrote old Michel Montaigne. Novalis saw yet further. Regarding life as a possession wholly desirable he epitomises his optimisms in one brief faith, 'La mort est la vie.' Nor were his doctrines concerning that most formidable of earth's catastrophes impersonal imaginations. The figure of death had confronted him at every turn during his twenty-eight years of life. Not only Sophie von Küln, his betrothed, but Erasmus, his twin-spirit and best loved brother, 'mit dem er Sinn und Herz theilte,' his sister, his youngest brother, the tidings of whose death precipitated his own, had one and all died in youth, but the sentences in letters, diaries, and poems recording his overwhelming sorrows ring—with transitory lapses—in unison with his creed of hope. 'Sei getröst. Erasmus hat überwunden.' 'Für Sophien kann ich nicht klagen;' death is 'der Heimgang;' dying, his sister is 'die Siegerin.' The separation of the grave only served to transfer the *venue* of his life to the regions of eternal reality, where the dead are the living, but where souls yet detained in their mortal tenement, detaching themselves from earthly preoccupations, may enter by faith and effort of the will. Nor when the silent feet of the great messenger approach his own threshold does the accent change: 'Ich will fröhlich wie ein junger Dichter sterben.' 'In heiterer Ruh will ich den Augenblick erwarten.' 'Mein Tod soll Beweis meiner Gefühle für das Höchste sein; ächte Aufopferung, nicht Nothmittel.'

For M. Maeterlinck death, as he has elected to represent it, is a stroke of fate dealt from behind a curtain as inscrutable, as impenetrable as the 'grande porte de fer uni sous les voûtes très sombres' against which Ygraine beats her torn hands in vain as Tintagiles, the frail child of life, is slain by the savage, monstrous, but always unseen figure in whose image we may be intended to discern the symbol of Destiny itself. M. Maeterlinck has drawn death, albeit symbolically, from the life—from this, as Novalis from the other, side of life. He has drawn it as, indeed, we see it, 'un événement masqué,' and for once the mask is real, as darkness is real and mist; it is a mask of nature's own making, where only the mask is visible of the actuality beyond and beneath.

He has lent the whole force of his art—and it here excels itself—to enhance the impression of an ineradicable instinct of dread, the animal dread of the blindness of mankind, at the neighbourhood of death. His appeal is to the involuntary sensation of fear which Montaigne combated with resolute manhood, denouncing every artificial environment that would serve to unhinge the courage of men at the approach of what 'est moins à craindre que rien, s'il y avait quelque chose de moins que rien.' 'Les enfants,' he writes in the same essay, using an unwontedly imaginative image, 'ont peur de leurs amis mesmes quand ils les voyent masquez . . . aussi avons-nous . . . il faut oster le masque . . .' Thus earlier eyes than ours, less, it may be, intellectualised races, had striven to deprive death of its mask of terror. They had encompassed it with ideals of courage, fortitude, and dignity. In the death scenes of the great epoch of English tragedy the idea of death in itself—as distinct from the evils attendant upon it, the remorses of conscience, the anticipation of future punishment—is presented continually under aspects that preclude the possibilities of fear.

•

'Tis less than to be born, a lasting sleep,
A quiet resting from all jealousy,
A thing we all pursue: I know besides
It is but giving over of a game
That must be lost.'

Ordella seeks it,

'

'Tis of all sleeps the sweetest,
And those are fools who fear it.'

Ford's Calantha dies with her note of bridal triumph, the
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Duchess of Malfy in the utter fearlessness of her unshaken dignity,

‘Come, violent death,
Serve for Mandragora to make me sleep.’

‘Dost thou lie still?’ asks Cleopatra of Iras, who for once has cheated her great mistress of her due precedence in that death scene which keeps above all other its halo of imperious glory;

‘If thus thou vanishest, thou tell’st the world
It is not worth leave-taking.’

So each, whatever the circumstances of violence and horror, encounters the invisible presence—death itself—with the concurrence of the will and the equable calm befitting, in Montaigne’s phrase, ‘les âmes bien nées.’

But M. Maeterlinck has transferred the accent in art from the courage of death to the terror of death. He has pourtrayed in its most sinister semblance the mask Montaigne would have had withdrawn, which Novalis, without withdrawing, penetrated. And while he has outlined his death episodes, with touches that give them the accurate familiarity of personal experience, he has surrounded and enveloped them with an atmosphere of a strangeness as great as if death came to earth but once in an eternity.

He has drawn the mask under the symbol of a phantasmal perceptibility. ‘Je n’ai rien vu,’ the old king exclaims, incredulous that death could have passed him by unrecognised in Mélisande’s chamber; ‘je n’ai rien entendu.’ All M. Maeterlinck’s figures of romance—kings, queens, men, women, children—fade into phantoms, ghosts who walk in dreams, beside the imageless spectre, the unembodied force, which in ‘L’Intruse’ enters the long avenue by the cypress wood, where the nightingales are suddenly mute and the swans seek the further edge of the moon-lit water. Step by step, steps that leave no print upon the path, we track the advent of the unbidden guest. In a lamp-lit room a group of six watchers sit. Beyond are the chambers of the new-born baby and the mother. And the night with its disquietude deepens, and the sound of the spectral scythe haunts the brain (‘Death, thou art a mower too’), and there are feet upon the threshold.

‘*Le Père* (à la servante) : Quelqu’un n’est-il pas entré tout à l’heure ?

La Servante : Mais non, monsieur.

Le Père : Mais nous avons entendu ouvrir la porte.

La Servante: C'est moi qui ai fermé la porte.

Le Père: Elle était ouverte?

La Servante: Oui.'

Footfall by footfall heavily death mounts the stair. A seventh watcher sits at the table.

'*Aïeul*: Vous êtes tous autour de la table?

La Fille: Oui, grand-père.'

And each in turn makes reply as one by one the blind old man calls them by name.

'*Aïeul*: Et qui est-ce qui s'est assis là?

La Fille: Mais il n'y a personne, grand-père. . . .

Aïeul: Pourquoi tremblez-vous toutes les trois, mes filles? . . . (tressaillant d'une épouvante spéciale) qui est-ce qui s'est levé?'

Death has passed to the inner room, 'la chambre mortuaire.' No artist has ever excelled M. Maeterlinck in making that invisible passing felt, in surrounding it with an atmosphere which is not, as it were, only an effect but an emanation. Minimising as far as possible our interest in death's victims, he rivets our attention upon the idea as distinct from its human association. We never see the face of the dying woman in 'L'Intruse.' Of the dead priest in 'Les Aveugles' we know scarcely more than that he is dead. Death, not the priest, is the leading actor around whom 'les aveugles,' blind age, blind man- and womanhood, youth and infancy, grope forlorn in the double darkness of eyes that see not and of night that falls. In 'Intérieur' the drowned girl, 'l'étrange petite âme,' remains from first to last unseen; an unnamed figure upon a bier of broken boughs, borne slowly homewards by the crowd of villagers to the quiet house where (once more it is old age, manhood, youth and infancy) all rest in peace, unconscious, in that interim hour when the shaft is sped but the heart is still unpierced, that the bearers of death's tidings watch them from without. One by one the news-bringers come, and one by one their courage fails.

'*Le Vieillard*: Ils sont si sûrs de leur petite vie, et ils ne se doutent pas que tant d'autres en savent davantage; et que moi, pauvre vieux, je tiens ici, à deux pas de leur porte, tout leur petit bonheur, comme un oiseau malade, entre mes vieilles mains que je n'ose pas ouvrir . . .

L'Etranger: Pourquoi faut-il que je vous accompagne? Allez seul . . .

Le Vieillard: Je ne sais pas pourquoi j'ai perdu tout courage . . .

Je croyais qu'il n'y avait qu'à frapper à la porte ; à entrer simplement, à chercher quelque phrase et à dire . . .

[Entre *Marie*, petite-fille du *Vieillard*.]

Marie : Vous l'avez dit, grand-père ?

Le Vieillard : Vous voyez bien que nous n'avons rien dit. Ils attendent encore sous la lampe . . . Regardez . . .

Marie : Grand-père, ne le dites pas ce soir.

Le Vieillard : Vous voyez que vous perdez courage aussi . . .

[Entre *Marthe*, petite-fille du *Vieillard*.]

Marthe : Tout est-il prêt ? Que faites-vous ici ? (Elle regarde aux fenêtres.) Ils ne pleurent pas ? . . . ils . . . vous ne l'avez pas dit ? . . . C'est moi qui vais le dire.

Le Vieillard : Reste ici, mon enfant, et regarde un instant . . .

Marthe (se retournant) : Où êtes-vous, grand-père ? Je suis si malheureuse que je ne vous vois plus . . . Moi-même, je ne sais plus que faire . . .

It is a scene where M. Maeterlinck's art, discarding the least tinge of melodrama, approaches something very near perfection. In this, as in 'L'Intruse' and 'Les Aveugles,' the romance element, with its symbolical royalties, recedes from sight; the playwright's use for crowns would appear to be over when man has set forth--again to employ the Gaelic phrase--'on the journey of truth.' Life itself is here before us--the pity of it; death--not, as in 'L'Intruse' and 'Les Aveugles,' the horror, but the sorrow of it, with a dim suggestion added of that laggard unconsciousness of brain and sense with regard to those great events which the soul in its swifter foreshadowings knows as it were by anticipation; 'toutes choses arrivent en nous bien avant qu'elles aient lieu.' All is painted with the finest strokes of the artist's pen. The emotional effect is never severed, as sometimes, from the true source and root of emotion, and in making those upon whom the sorrow is about to descend 'les personnages muets' of the *dramatis personæ* he has by the slightest of structural touches expressed something of the elemental silence of the deepest grief. 'They are the silent 'griefs which cut the heart-strings . . .'

Sympathy as a creed of morals, the assertion and re-assertion of the supremacy of things spiritual over things material both in power and importance, 'la foi . . . 'l'argument des choses qui n'apparaissent pas,' are to be found throughout M. Maeterlinck's writings. The true artist's gift of finished expression in the sensitive graduation of the literal meaning of words by their sound and rhythm

no less than by their associated images, is pre-eminently his in prose, drama, and lyric :—

‘ Vous savez, Seigneur, ma misère !
Voyez ce que je vous apporte :
Des fleurs mauvaises de la terre
Et du soleil sur une morte.

‘ Voyez aussi ma lassitude,
La lune éteinte et l'aube noire ;
Et fécondez ma solitude
En l'arroasant de votre gloire.

‘ Ouvrez-moi, Seigneur, votre voie,
Eclairez-y mon âme lasse,
Car la tristesse de ma joie
Semble de l'herbe sous la glace.’ *

But how far in his death dramas, how far in the general drift of his love dramas M. Maeterlinck as artist has betrayed the cause of M. Maeterlinck as moralist, the apostle of that wisdom which should transmute the shafts of *la fatalité noire* into arrows of light, each reader—and M. Maeterlinck's work admits of no second-hand appreciation derived from a brief study in literary criticism—must decide for himself. To those whose faith allows that earth has her joys, instincts their health, hearts their gaiety, nature (without the aid of philosophy) its healings, the senses their clean-handed pleasures, time its mercies, hope its fulfilments; who see that green mosses overgrow every ruin, that even the blanks of life, those blanks which tell of joys lost, with those dimly outlined vacancies which tell of joys never possessed, are in due season obliterated, and that years inevitably effect that gradual transformation which changes pain into the memory of pain, his writings will always suggest the reflexion that if there may be such a place as a fool's paradise there is no less certainly a corresponding locality—a wise man's hell.

And if the pessimism of the artist has in truth betrayed the philosophy of the sage, as a mystic, M. Maeterlinck has removed us to another clime from the world where Ruysbroeck and his fellows prayed and fasted, saw hard-won visions with eyes shut to earth's pleasures, learnt the secrets of the soul in lives of abstinence, mortification, and asceticism. And to bystanders, although the mysticism of

* *Oraison.*

the past may, possibly must, in its deepest sense, remain a closed page of spiritual and physical experience, and although they may not arrogate to themselves any very lucid comprehension of the creed, called mystic, of to-day, it will still seem, experience prompting to incredulity, improbable that contrary roads—the road of the ascetic and that of the non-ascetic—should lead to one and the self-same goal. To them M. Maeterlinck will appear a citizen of another spiritual commonwealth, where M. Stéphane Mallarmé with M. Villiers de l'Isle Adam are fitly cited as master mystics, where such jarring comparisons can be drawn without protest as those M. Maeterlinck has suggested between 'les tristesses transies' of a Ruysbroeck and those of a François Villon or a Paul Verlaine, the libertine genius of the fifteenth century, and the yet sorrier wreck of genius, bemired with every stain of the street, of our own day. As an artist he has chosen, with the right of an artist, to reproduce what is most in affinity with the genius of his art. It would seem that, setting life by a dream—and as art it matters little whether in relation to actuality we call that dream a mask or a symbol—he has found life wanting, and has elected to paint the dream in that species of idealism defined by M. Mallarmé 'qui refuse les matériaux naturels 'et, comme brutale, une pensée directe les ordonnant; pour 'ne garder de rien que la suggestion.' But his dreams are dreamt in some disease of sleep.

'C'est des fleurs sans couleur aucune,
Des jets d'eau bleues à l'horizon,
De la lune sur le gazon
Et des lys fanés dans la lune.'

'Lasses et lourdes de sommeil
Je vois sous mes paupières closes
Les corbeaux au milieu des roses
Et les malades au soleil.'

As an artist he has penetrated his dreams—his art—with sadness. But his sadnesses are not, any more than those of a Verlaine or a Villon, the sadnesses of the *Salve Regina*, of the *exules filii Hevae*, who, if they regarded themselves as prisoners in this vale of tears, yet held in secure hands of faith the key of their prison-house. Sadness—M. Maeterlinck himself has reiterated the lesson—even the greatest, does not mould the strong man, but is moulded by him. It is as clay to the potter; out of it he fashions the weights or the wings of life. M. Maeterlinck has fashioned the weights.

His shield of life is a field sable; its flag floats for ever at half-mast high. The escutcheon of love is a twilight emblazoned with dying flames; Death might be imaged as a gateway into the mist; the record of Time is marked as the hours of the dial only by the shadow that passes until the shadow itself is lost in the night. M. Maeterlinck is so great an artist that it is impossible to forgive him for not being a greater.

ART. IV.—1. *Hansard.* Fourth series. Vol. 66 (for 1899), pp. 971–1051, and Vol. 88 (for 1900), pp. 397–476.

2. *Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on Members of Parliament (Personal Interest),* 274 of 1896.

THE chief trustee of public welfare is, in this country, Parliament, and with Parliament rests the responsibility of seeing that the interests of the whole community are not subordinated to those of any portions of it. The British nation, possessing, as it does, sound political instinct, has always shown a laudable jealousy lest Parliament, and that Committee of Parliament which controls the administration of affairs in the public offices, should deviate under the sway of external magnetic influences from the line of common welfare. In times when the Court was potent, and again in the day of the territorial aristocracy, precautions were taken to hold in check these disturbing forces. The vacation of seats and obligation to re-election of members of the House of Commons who accepted certain posts under the Crown, and the rule forbidding Peers to intervene in elections, are vestiges of defences against past dangers. Like the ruins of the Roman Wall, these are now merely signs of the directions from which hostile approach was feared in former days. They have lost their *raison d'être*, and are felt to be obsolete and no better than incumbrances which should be abolished, if anyone were energetic enough to take the trouble. It is now the Prime Minister, himself in a sense a nominee of the House of Commons, and not the King, who confers ministerial appointments, and Peers, *quā* Peers, could not exercise influence over elections beyond that of other persons endowed with average wealth, intelligence, and local popularity.

Yet power itself is an immortal, subtle, and Proteus-like spirit, and only quits one body to take possession of another. If kings and many-acred aristocrats have lost that predominant ability which they once had to confer upon those who did their behests a larger share than mere labour or merit can obtain in the good things of this world, that ability has passed into the hands of a less visibly shining, but more dangerous order of men. England has undergone a vast change during the last hundred years. The population has become mainly urban instead of mainly rural, the shareholder and bondholder have waxed, and the squire and farmer have waned; agriculture has almost become a

national plaything or luxury; the staple manufacturing industries which succeeded to the leading place already show signs of having passed their point of culmination; financing, investing, money-lending under the guise of joint-stock company business, these are the arts now in the ascendant. The great business of London consists in exhaling capital from itself into the ends of the world, and inhaling the returns of interest; the rest of the country tends to become an appurtenance, garden, or playground of London. The times have changed, and powers and dominations have changed with them. The great squire, ruling over his wheat lands and by means of his rents, is on his way to join the feudal baron amid the shadows of the past. The present holder of the shifting energy of wealth is frequently a man of obscure and sometimes alien appearance, who has an office in a City lane, a richly furnished and well-tabled house in the West End, and a large villa in the Home Counties. His seductions lie not in the gift of sparkling Court places or the freedom of high-born society, but in the power of giving a smoking-room hint as to the right investment, that of turning a speculation so as to benefit an ally without any investment at all, or that of putting a friend into a 'good thing' in the way of a directorship. From time to time there is a crash and a revelation, and then behind some noble Faust appears the figure of the modern Mephistopheles, who, not to win a soul, but to exploit a name, has allured his victim by the temptation of addition to pleasures or relief from distress.

One can see from which direction now blows the wind of influence by observing the present objective of the jealousy of the House of Commons. The arrow-head on the vane points no longer toward Court or aristocracy, but towards the City and the great joint-stock company offices. There is a feeling of danger in the air, exaggerated no doubt, somewhat like that, also exaggerated, which prevailed in the brief period of the plunder of the treasuries of India, when a returned Nabob, like Paul Benfield, the hero of the drama of the 'Nabob of Arcot's Debts,' sent eight members to Parliament, and when Burke was moved to say in the House:

'We are well aware, in providing for the affairs of the East, with what an adult strength of abuse, and of wealth and influence growing out of that abuse, his Majesty's Commons had in the last Parliament, and we still have, to struggle. We are sensible that the influence of that wealth, in a much larger degree and measure than at any former

period, may have penetrated into the very quarter from whence alone any real reformation can be expected.'

It is felt by some that new rules should be enforced to guard the integrity of the chief officers of the State from new dangers; by others that new vigilance, at least, is needed. Debates have taken place and remedies have been suggested which, if they do not always hit the mark or meet the need, are at least evidence of a widespread apprehension. It is of interest to follow the history of this movement and to consider proposals which have been made.

In the case of the public services entrenchments have already been thrown up in various quarters. By rule or custom Colonial governors and secretaries and members of the Indian Civil Service are prohibited from holding directorships which may bring into conflict their personal interests and public duties, or encroach upon time belonging to and paid for by the State. The rule in the Home Civil Service is now embodied in Clause 11 of the Order in Council of August 15, 1900, which runs thus :

'No officer shall be allowed to accept any part in the management of any society or any trading, commercial, or financial company, of whatever description, which would require the attendance of such officer at any time between 10 A.M. and 6 P.M.'

This is not an absolute prohibition of tenure of any directorship, but virtually prevents a civil servant from being a director of anything more exciting than, perhaps, a philanthropic co-operative society. The enemy in view in this case seems to be, not the possible conflict of interest, but the subtraction from time and energy belonging to the State. It was once, we believe, a 'Treasury question' whether Mr. Anthony Trollope could properly devote three hours before office every morning to his more lucrative occupation of novel-writing, and bring to the Post Office a mind drained of the best part of its daily vitality. But it was felt that it was impossible and inadvisable to lay down any invariable rule on matters of this kind, and that it was enough to leave to the head of each department the discretion to take objection to outside employment of any kind in non-official hours.

The members of the House of Lords or House of Commons who, in the Cabinet or as under-secretaries, are chiefs of the great public departments, are not subject to these rules which bind their subordinate officials. Of late years, however, they appear to have been bound by a certain under-

standing between themselves and the Prime Minister on the subject of directorships. Mr. Gladstone, it seems, in his last term of premiership, insisted that his colleagues should retire from management of all trading concerns so long as they held office.

One of these colleagues, Mr. Mundella, was a director of the New Zealand Loan Company while he was President of the Board of Trade. The Company went into liquidation, and the judge ordered that Mr. Mundella should be publicly examined by one of his own officials. Mr. Mundella, in this impossible position, resigned his office, and said in his speech announcing the fact to the House of Commons, ‘I think ‘that the public have a right to be sure that there is not ‘the slightest suspicion of conflict between personal and ‘public considerations.’ The words were certainly not too strong for the situation.

When Lord Salisbury came into office in 1895 the following rules were laid down—viz. (1) That no member of the Government should enter into any engagement that would occupy the time that would properly belong to the public; or (2) should undertake any responsibility in connection with public companies that could be supposed to diminish his influence or usefulness as a member of the Cabinet or the Minister of a department.

It seems that, for one or other of these reasons, a certain number of directorships held by members of the Government were given up, but many were still held when the matter was discussed at length in the House of Commons in the debate on the Address in February 1899. The motion made was that

‘twenty-five out of the forty-four Ministers of the Crown who constitute your Majesty’s present Administration hold among them no fewer than forty-one directorships in public companies, and that we consider the position of a public company director to be incompatible with the position of a Minister of the Crown, and that the union of such offices is calculated to lower the dignity of public life,’

Although this motion was made by an Irish Nationalist member, it received considerable and weighty support in debate from English and Scottish members on both sides of the House. The attack followed two main lines—the danger of a conflict of interests and that of a conflict of duties. These two leading reasons in favour of a strict rule were well summarised by Mr. Augustine Birrell. He said:

‘On both sides of the House there is a very strong feeling that this is an exceedingly grave question. The general estimation in which

both Houses of Parliament are held by the country at large is one of the most valuable of all our national assets, and anything which endangers it, and exposes it to vulgar, and it may be absurd, criticism is a thing to be deprecated, and which we should do all we can to avoid.

' My contention is that either these Ministers of the Crown do their duty to these public companies or they do not. If they do, then they cannot do their duty to Queen and country, and if they do their duty to Queen and country they must of necessity neglect their duty to their shareholders.'

The first of these arguments was met by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the undeniable truth that ' there are ' companies and companies, and there are directors and ' directors.' In a word, one must rely on the honour and discretion of Ministers for a guarantee that they will be directors of such companies only as are above all suspicion or reproach, and that as such directors they will never allow the interest of their company to influence their judgement or decisions *quâ* Ministers. To the second argument his answer was that, so long as directorial work did not trench upon official hours or energies, it might be blamelessly pursued by a Minister. He was himself director of a Mutual Insurance Company, and found therein refreshment after his labours in Downing Street. ' The First Lord of the Treasury,' he said, ' takes recreation at golf; I take mine by a walk along ' the Embankment, and by a short attendance at a meeting ' of directors. The essence of recreation is change of occu- ' pation.' The objection to this view is, of course, that should Mr. Balfour play badly at golf, for want of sufficient practice, this would be an injury to no living mortal, whereas a director is in the position of a trustee, or agent, or servant, or a combination of these characters, and is supposed to give something more than short and occasional attendances at meetings which involve the interests of shareholders. In a rather remarkable speech a Yorkshire Conservative member, Mr. Beckett, who is also a banker, impressed upon the House of Commons the difficulty of discharging properly the duties of a director when combined with those of a Minister. The truth is that the growth of population, rapidity of movement, the use of telegraphic communication, the extension of the sphere of government, and in general the greater complication of social life, have immensely enlarged the scope and increased the pace of all business, public or commercial, and inevitably have led to a need for greater specialisation and division of labour in all

occupations. In the interests of the State a Minister must be more entirely a Minister, and in the interests of his shareholders a director more entirely a director than was the case fifty years ago. It is most certainly in the public interest to discourage the assumption of responsibility as directors by men who have a name and credit but no time, or no skill, or neither of these assets, to bring to the service of companies ; and Ministers of the Crown should be the first to set an example by the renunciation of duties which they cannot properly perform. It may be said that in this case no man who owned a private business, or even a large landed estate, ought to serve as a Minister, and that if the rule were so we should lose exactly that class of men from whom the best Ministers have been recruited. There is, however, the distinction that a director is in the position of a trustee of the interests of others, and, as such, is far more strictly bound than a landowner or man of private business not to give the whole of his time and energy to the service of the State.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's argument that ' there are ' companies and companies and directors and directors ' applies to both sides of the question. Some companies, old-established insurance companies and the like, moving in a fixed groove of routine, almost automatically, need not consume much of the time and energy of the directors. In the case of some companies also there is almost a certainty that the interests of the Minister as director can never be brought into conflict with those of the director as Minister. But, it was urged in debate, it is impossible to distinguish between companies of which a Minister may properly be a director and those of which he may not. Companies differ by every shade ; some are well on this side of the line of danger, some are near it or on it, some are beyond it. Besides, in these days of financial ramifications, of investment companies, and of company behind company, it is often impossible to judge of the actual operations of a company by reading its memorandum and articles of association. The decision of propriety, it was said, cannot be left to the judgement of the Prime Minister. Either there must be perfect liberty to every Minister to exercise his own discretion as to keeping or accepting directorates, or there must be an absolute rule forbidding every Minister to be a director of any company so long as he holds public office.

Mr. Balfour, in this debate, espoused the cause of perfect freedom, and attacked the proposal of a strict prohibition in

a speech of much ingenuity and power. He passed over lightly—too lightly—the question whether a man can at once give sufficient of his time and energy to the service of the State and to the service of companies, and devoted most of his eloquence to an assault on the position that integrity can be defended or secured by rules. He took the obvious point that many companies are little more than an old commercial firm reorganised upon a new and more convenient principle, and that in these cases it was difficult to contend that a chief of the business should be capable of office before but not after his formal conversion from a partner into a director. If, while he was leader of the House of Commons, that excellent servant of his country and model of sober English virtue, the late Mr. W. H. Smith, had desired to place his business upon a joint-stock basis, it would, it is urged, have been necessary that he should have been a director, and, had an absolute rule then existed, he would have had to elect between retiring from office and abandoning a design advantageous to his private interests. Either the nation would have lost a statesman whose services were of proved value, or Mr. Smith would have had to sacrifice his wishes, and to renounce increased capitalisation or more convenient administration of his newspaper and bookstall agency. We can hardly doubt that Mr. Smith would have postponed a business advantage to the service of his Queen and country. Another stock example to which Mr. Balfour referred is that of the Duke of Devonshire's directorate or directorates at Barrow. It is alleged with truth that the Duke's work in this capacity is almost as much family business as his management of the Chatsworth estate, or of his urban property at Eastbourne.

'I personally could not consent,' said Mr. Balfour, 'to the laying down of a rule so absolute in its terms that it would either drive the Duke of Devonshire out of public life, or compel him, to his own detriment, and still more to the detriment of those who have invested in these great concerns, wholly to separate his connection from them.'

We question the practical weight of this argument. The very merit of the joint-stock company system is that it transfers to a board of directors the responsibility and labour which in a private business rests upon individuals. No doubt if, for no assigned reason, the Duke of Devonshire were suddenly to retire from the directorate of the Barrow Hematite Company, an injury would be done to the company's credit. But if he were to retire, during his tenure

of office, in obedience to a universally known rule of public policy, why should the interests of the company be affected? The vacant place on the board could surely be filled by some member of his family, or other good and credit-bringing man of business, who could devote to the company more time and attention than one who was burdened by the work of the Cabinet, the care of national education, and a splendid social position. If it were thought good to lay down the rule that no Minister should be a director, we are unable to believe either that the Duke of Devonshire would retire to private life for the sake of Barrow directorates, or that if, for this reason, he ceased to be a director, the companies would suffer. We fail to see the force of Mr. Balfour's dilemma.

But, it was also urged, useful men less wealthy than the Duke, and directing companies more dependent on their personal skill and attention, would be debarred from public office by this rule. Therefore, it was said, 'You will lose many men with good practical training.' This contention is met by the reply that it is precisely men in this position who cannot serve two masters. If the business of a company demands much skill and time they must either sacrifice it to public business, and so sin against their shareholders, or public business to it, and so sin against the State. The sphere of public work has expanded so much with the expansion of the nation that it has been found necessary to forbid the law officers of the Crown to accept ordinary briefs. For the same reason, if for no other, Ministers in other departments may fairly be required to surrender during their tenure of office non-public business. We are brought to this dilemma. If, in a routine business, a director can be treated as a purely sleeping partner, it can do that company no harm that, for the sake of public policy, the sleeper, on becoming a Minister, should cease to be a director. If, on the other hand, the company is of such a nature that the active services of a particular director are essential, then he cannot take public office without some injury to the interests of the shareholders, or of the State, or of both.

Mr. Balfour, conscious perhaps of weakness in his argument from the Duke of Devonshire, took in the debate a higher flight, and at last landed his hearers, puzzled but unconvinced, in regions of high ethical philosophy. He now dealt with the question, not whether a man could at once give sufficient time and labour to the service of a

company and the service of the State, but whether there were any danger from a conflict between private interests and public policy which could be obviated by a general rule forbidding Ministers to hold directorships.

To say, argued Mr. Balfour, that a man should be disqualified from being a Minister by the tenure of a directorship, but not disqualified by holding large investments of ordinary stock, might in many cases be to strain at a gnat and to swallow a camel. Suppose, for instance, that a member of Parliament were director of a railway, holding no more than the qualifying stock, at a salary of 150*l.* a year; and then, again, suppose that he were not a director, but had 100,000*l.* in the ordinary stock of the same railway. In the first case, his income would not materially vary with the success of the railway or with legislation affecting it; in the second case his income and the value of his capital would fluctuate with everything which affected the fortunes of the company. And yet, said Mr. Balfour, those who support a strict prohibition rule would exclude the director but admit the large shareholder to public office. 'Such powers of logic,' he added, 'as I am gifted with wholly fail me to see what reasonable contention exists in such an argument.' And if, he asked, a director of a company is to be excluded from office upon the ground that he may be influenced by interests other than those of the general welfare, ought we not logically to exclude all persons who have any property whatsoever? Are not all investments liable to be affected by public policy and legislation? Is not this equally true of investments at home and abroad, of urban and rural property, of factories and mines, banks and railways? Are we, he said, ultimately to arrive at a no-property qualification for public office? Indeed, Mr. Balfour contended, a director is under less temptation than a large shareholder to sacrifice public to private interests for the very reason that he holds a more conspicuous position. The real danger, he thought, lay in another direction—in secret dealings on the Stock Exchange by men possessed of inner political information.

'A directorship is an open fact proclaimed in the light of day in printed books, and there is no doubt about it whatever; but these underhand dealings on the Stock Exchange are not proclaimed in books. These are the secret wounds which bring a political society to the ground, and which cause the secret and disgraceful sore from which it ultimately perishes. It is not that which is public or that which is known history, on which the light of day beats, from which

we have anything to fear. It is the possibility that, at some remote time, there may creep into our political system some small trace of the poison which is absolutely destructive to communities less fortunately situated than ourselves.'

A Minister, Mr. Balfour said, should observe in great perfection the two rules of not holding any directorship which encroached by an hour upon time due to the public service, or which might by any possibility lead him into temptation and cause his conduct to be 'deflected by a hair-breadth either to the right or to the left,' and should, in any case of doubt as to whether he should retain or forego a directorship, decide not for but against his apparent personal interest. No member of the present Cabinet, he conceived, would do other than keep these rules, and so, in short, no absolute prohibition was needed. Like Milton, Mr. Balfour contemns a 'cloistered virtue.' He said, very eloquently, raising the level of the debate to the general question of freedom and rule :

' What we have to depend upon for the integrity of public life, and the purity of public morals is, in part, the great tradition which we have inherited in this matter, and, in part, the public opinion which is the product and the outcome of that tradition. It is on these I rely, and not upon any small technical rules, in many cases inapplicable, in some cases pernicious, which honourable gentlemen attempt to lay down on this occasion. I hope they will take the broader and more rational view of what constitutes purity in public life. I hope they will see from what quarters the real dangers are likely to assail public life. I hope they will keep the most vigilant watch upon all questions connected with the two great sources of public corruption—namely, Stock Exchange gambling and public contracts.

' If the two dangers connected with the Stock Exchange and public contracts are wholly avoided ; if we maintain in those great essentials the standard of public life ; if we never allow any committee of this House to act from any but the highest motives ; if, in our own conduct, we do our best in giving our votes to make abstraction of our private interests, which in some cases must be affected—then, I think, we shall succeed in maintaining the high level of integrity which it has been our pleasure and our glory to attain. But I shall be very sorry if we conceive ourselves to be paying a tribute to the great principles of purity by laying down a technical rule, the practical effect of which must be in some cases pernicious, and in all cases must be insignificant ; and then go away laying the flattering unction to our souls that we have done something to maintain the high standard of public life in this country.'

Mr. Balfour attacked in great force and style a position
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not really held by his opponents. This strategy is often a sign of a weak case. No one supposes that any rule, or set of rules, can safeguard the virtue of a Minister, any more than all the social rules in the world can ensure that of a woman. But, because a rule will not meet a great danger, it does not follow that it will not be of use in a narrower sphere. A wall intended to protect a garden is not to be condemned on the ground that it will not resist artillery. Social rules of conduct are not useless because they do no more than diminish the occasions of temptation and limit the field of scandal. The object in view is, first, that every man who enters into the service of the State, whether as a clerk for his working life or as a Minister for a term of years, should give his whole time to that service; next, that no man who enters such service should place himself in a position in which by any conceivable possibility his duty to the State and his duty to shareholders as guardian and promoter of their interests should come into collision. The object, in a word, is that all reasonable precautions should be taken to avoid situations arising in which a man shall deprive either State or company of due services, or shall have to do less than his best for the interests of one or the other.

It is a question of propriety of situation. The courts of law have pronounced again and again that a director is not to put himself into a position where his duty and interest may possibly conflict. Lord Cairns said that this rule was founded upon the 'highest and truest principles of morality,' and in a later case Lord Herschell described it, in his more matter-of-fact and less solemn manner, as 'based upon the consideration that, human nature being what it is, there is danger in such circumstances of the person holding a fiduciary position being swayed by interest rather than duty, and thus prejudicing those whom he was bound to protect.' A Minister-director holds a double fiduciary position, as trustee of public interests and trustee of his shareholders' interests, and may suddenly find himself in the position of obligation to serve two masters who are at issue. Now, it is difficult at any time to serve two masters, and impossible if they happen to be at war with each other. Nor is it a question simply of the influence of interest upon the mind of a Minister himself. Every permanent official has the desire to please his chief, and it is impossible to say beforehand what effect this desire, whether working consciously, or by processes, as the phrase

goes, of unconscious cerebration, may not have upon the transactions of a department.

It is, of course, perfectly true, as Mr. Balfour argued, that a Minister's possession of investments may in certain cases bring the public duty and personal interest into more violent opposition than could the tenure of any directorship, and that this conflict might be the more dangerous because more secret. This very subject was discussed, as it happened, in a subsequent debate in the House of Commons at their meeting in December—a debate inspired far too much by the desire of a bitter partisanship to discredit a particular statesman, and warm with feeling kindled by other issues. The personal element imported on both sides into this debate injured its value. It did, however, call attention to certain perils, and it is, we think, desirable to consider this side of the matter before offering an opinion upon the whole question.

It is a very old rule of law, and of common-sense, that no man can be arbiter in his own cause. Even a judge cannot exercise his profession in a case in which he has a personal interest, however faint. In 1852 the House of Lords reversed a decision given by Lord Chancellor Cottenham, purely on the ground that he held a few shares in a company which was a litigant, and the stately words of Lord Campbell, a man highly inspired by a sense of the majesty and chastity of law, are worthy of remembrance:—

'No one can suppose that Lord Cottenham could be in the remotest degree influenced by the interest that he had in this concern; but, my Lords, it is of the last importance that the maxim that no man is to be a judge in his own cause should be held sacred. And that is not to be confined to a cause in which he is a party; but applies to a cause in which he has an interest. Since I have had the honour to be Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, we have again and again set aside proceedings in inferior tribunals because an individual who had an interest in a cause took part in the decision. And it will have a most salutary influence on these tribunals when it is known that this High Court of last resort, in a case in which the Lord Chancellor of England had an interest, considered that his decree was on that account a decree not according to law, and was set aside.'

Lord Campbell did not, it will be observed, contend, like Mr. Balfour, that it is vain and useless to look to technical rules for the defence of purity in public life. On the contrary, in order to assert the rule he put the litigants in the particular case to much inconvenience and cost, so great, to his mind, was the importance of maintaining an abstract principle.

In the House of Commons it has for centuries been the rule that no member may vote in a matter in which he has a direct special interest of a pecuniary kind. As far back as June 12, 1604, on a Bill 'for the establishment of divers 'Manors and Lands of Edward, late Duke of Somerset,' it was moved 'that Mr. Seymour, a member of the House, and 'a Party, might go forth during the debate, which was 'conceived to be agreeable with former order and precedent 'in like cases, and was so ordered. And Mr. Seymour went 'presently forth at the door,' and so, as Carlyle would have said, vanished for us into space. Since then there has been a series of cases (summarised by Sir Reginald Palgrave for the Select Committee of 1896) of which the most noteworthy is that of the 'Loyalty Loan' of 1797. It was proposed, under certain circumstances, to pay a bonus to the loyal subscribers, among whom were several members of Parliament, one of them Mr. Manning, the father of the late Cardinal. Objection was taken, and Speaker Addington ruled that: 'When a measure was to confer pecuniary advantage or to diminish pecuniary loss, no member who intended or expected to derive any benefit from it could vote.' The present Speaker, Mr. Gully, when he gave evidence in 1896 before the Select Committee, summed up the effect of this and subsequent rulings by saying that 'a member is disqualified from voting upon any question in which he has a direct personal pecuniary interest of a private and particular, and not of a public and general nature.' Thus he would not, of course, be debarred by his landed property from voting on the general question of land-tax, or compensation for tenants' improvements, but his vote on a question relating to his particular estate could be disallowed.

Another restraining rule is that no member of Parliament may have direct commercial dealings with a Government Department. The foundation of this rule is the apprehension that there is more chance of collusion or favour as between a Government department and a member of Parliament, than between a department and an outside trader. The Minister at the head of the department might feel, more or less consciously, the desire to gratify a supporter in the House of Commons, or the member might be subtly influenced in his politics by the attractive force of Government contracts. This rule was embodied in an Act which was passed by Lord Rockingham's reforming Ministry of 1782, and was described in its preamble as intended 'for

'further securing the freedom and independence of Parliament.' The Act incapacitated for election to the House of Commons any person who had a contract, or share in one, or derived a benefit from any contract, with any Government department, or, if he did sit and vote, made him liable to a fine of 500*l.* for each day's sitting. The Bill was supported by Mr. Burke, who said that the House were 'treading in 'the footsteps of their ancestors, whose uniform and invincible rule it was to disqualify persons from sitting in that 'House who were in such a predicament that they could not 'be supposed to be otherwise than under improper influence.' Vainly did Alderman Harley, who, as he alleged, had for twelve years 'fulfilled the gold contract with the fairest 'character,' lament that 'I should be treated as if I were 'a criminal, in being forced either to give up a valuable 'branch of my business, or to renounce the honour which I 'hold so high of sitting in Parliament.' The Act was passed and is law to this day. But—and this is what has made the Act a somewhat rusty weapon—it contained a clause excepting from its operation any contract held by an incorporated company of more than ten persons. The statute was framed long before the day of limited joint-stock companies, and at a time when corporations existing under special Acts of Parliament or under Royal Charter were few and mostly large. Since then the exception has become the rule. Life, as Shakespeare says, is 'Time's fool,' and Time makes senseless or impotent even Acts of Parliament. If the head of a private firm sits in the House of Commons and supplies locks and keys to the Office of Works, he is liable to a heavy fine. If he converts his lock and key business into a company consisting of himself, holding nine-tenths of the shares, and his brothers, sons, nephews, and clerks, to the number of ten souls, holding the rest, he can sell innumerable locks and keys to the same office with impunity. Logically speaking, in view of the revolution in the commercial system from private to company business, either the Act of 1782 ought to be repealed, or to be extended to members of Parliament who are shareholders in companies. But, practically, no rule can be enforced. It is undesirable that a Government should have large dealings with companies which are really members of Parliament under a legal mask, yet it is impossible to enter into the holdings and investments of every member of Parliament. Is any distinction to be made in the more easily ascertainable case of Ministers who have large holdings in companies which

deal with departments? This was the question debated last December. The nature and produce of the companies then in question are such that they could hardly fail to do business with the spending departments, and that it would be undesirable to exclude them from fair competition for Government contracts. One of these companies, and that a company held by a very small number of shareholders, supplied stores to the Admiralty. Was it in accordance with, or contrary to, the spirit which has inspired the various rules to which we have referred, that a leading shareholder in the company should have occupied, till recently, the position of a Civil Lord of the Admiralty? The Minister in question is a man of undoubted honour, and it was not alleged, nor do we for a moment suppose, that he either desired or was in an official position to influence the giving of contracts. None the less there is, we think, a general feeling in the country that a situation of this kind is not free from impropriety, and that it will be best to avoid this in the future. There is force in the words used by one speaker in this debate, who said:

'If Ministers of the Crown are allowed to have large interests, direct or indirect, in firms providing munitions of war to the Government, I know no greater danger to the peace of the country or its security. It is not that any Minister you can imagine sitting in this House would ever deliberately, for the sake of promoting his own private interests, engage in war. . . . But there is again the subtle influence of the constant action of a man's permanent interest upon his judgement. It does give him a bias without his knowing it.'

And, he might have added, there is the same subtle influence working upon the minds of permanent officials who wish to please a Minister.

We say that there is force in these words because the tone of morality falls and rises. Rules are made for the bad and not the good. The reason for requiring men of honour to submit to them, even at some personal inconvenience, is that a relaxation of rule, harmless in times when zeal for the interest of the commonwealth is dominant, may become a mischievous precedent in days, such as there have been from time to time even in our own history, and may be again, when public virtue decays and selfish interests are for awhile in the ascendant.

We have then, on the whole, to consider two questions—first, whether an absolute rule should be made forbidding Ministers to hold directorships, and, secondly, whether there should be a rule prohibiting dealings between

Government departments and companies in which Ministers have large shareholding interests.

With regard to the first of these questions, it should, we are inclined to think, be strictly contrary to rule that certain Ministers should be directors of any companies of whatever kind. One such Minister should, without doubt, be the President of the Board of Trade. As the genius presiding over traffic, he touches many living companies; and, as the Rhadamanthus of the dead, may come into official relation to any company in the United Kingdom. Another Minister who should be wholly disqualified for holding directorships is, we think, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It may be, though we are not sure of this, a good training for a Chancellor of the Exchequer to have been at some time of his life engaged in banking or City financial work. Yet it is not altogether pleasant to contemplate a Minister sitting in the board-room of a bank, or, indeed, of any company which may have funds to invest, even the most unblemished mutual insurance society, when he has, perhaps, in his head the secret of a coming conversion of Consols or purchase of Suez Canal shares. So much that is informing can pass, among the most honourable men, in an inevitable silence, an aside, a smile, a hesitation to answer a question. It would, again, obviously be incorrect that the President of the Local Government Board should be director of any company which contracted with local authorities, nor can any Minister discharging functions in the War Office or Admiralty properly direct any company which fabricates ships, arms, or any other military or naval supplies. It may not as yet be desirable that a general rule should be made preventing any Minister from holding any directorship during his tenure of office, but the general tendency should be in the direction of the establishment by custom of such a rule, and the burden of proof that the retention of any directorship would neither interfere with his public work nor risk collision of public and private interest, should rest heavily on the Minister retaining it. On no account should a Minister while in office be allowed to accept any new directorship.

The same principles, we think, should apply to the possession by a Minister of large holdings of shares in companies which do business with Government departments. The fact, for instance, that the Duke of Devonshire owns the larger part of the company which manufactures at Barrow steel used in building ships of war need not disqualify him from being,

as he is, Lord President of the Council. It is, however, a strong reason, even apart from his directorship, why he should not be First Lord of the Admiralty, and this purely for the sake of rule and precedent and to avoid impropriety of situation, notwithstanding all the 'hereditary virtue of 'the Cavendishes.' Or again, a Minister, so long as, even without being a director, he has investments in Government contracting companies, should be precluded from office in the military and naval departments, for although he may inhabit a sphere in his office altogether distinct from that in which contracts are made, it is not easy to disengage his personality and reputation from the proceedings in any part of the establishment. To the popular view, for instance, a Civil Lord appears to be one of the directors of the Admiralty, and to share responsibility for all the department's actions. But to enter, as some members did, in the debate of last December, into the investments of sons and brothers, and cousins, and even wives and daughters and sisters of Ministers, is to push a virtuous principle absurdly far, and to injure the possible by confusing it with the impossible, and even the indecent.

We do not believe that the time has come when it is necessary to pass any Act of Parliament for the regulation of these matters, and we hope that it never will come. The anomaly, already mentioned, that under the Act of 1782 a member of the House of Commons cannot, if he is member of a commercial partnership, have dealings with Government, but can if he holds nine-tenths of the shares in a company of eleven persons, is enough to show the fate of rules crystallised in Acts. These things are better governed by custom, inspired by an abiding spirit, but in form flexible and adapting itself to changing circumstances. The Prime Minister, detached in future, we hope, from the daily cares of a great department, should be responsible in matters of this kind for the reputation of the Administration. It is not, indeed, a pleasant task for a Premier to discharge, but he should, we think, before appointing any colleague require a full declaration of directorships and investments, and consider and decide whether any of these are incompatible with any office, or with a particular office. Meanwhile, it is the duty of those representing the national interest to keep a careful watch upon the position of Ministers in these respects, and it would be a misfortune were there to be any great relaxation in the vigilance of the House of Commons. Anyone practically conversant with the departments knows

that, in spite of much irrelevancy, good often results from questions put in good faith to Ministers by responsible members of Parliament. It may be desirable that time should be saved by adopting the method of giving answers as well as questions in writing, but the practice itself should be maintained. For hence it comes that in the quiet recesses of Whitehall it is necessary to put every decision to the test, 'Is there a good answer if a question is asked in the House?' In other words, 'How will the case look if presented to a lay assembly of average morality and common-sense?' Much is done in this way to check the insidious beginnings of corruption, torpor, or mandarin routine, diseases incident to bureaucracy, and herein lies much of the value of a Parliamentary constitution. Ministers should remember this, and, when questions are asked as to directorships or investments, preserve a philosophic calm, and not hotly assume, even if the opposing style is blundering or irritating, that they or their colleagues are being charged with personal dishonesty. And if a Minister is wise he will, we think, himself, without being pressed, go far beyond the obvious necessities of the case in the way of care that neither his directorships nor his investments shall be such as may by any chance affect or bias, consciously or unconsciously, his public life, or even expose it to the least degree of suspicion.

ART. V.—1. *The English Utilitarians.* By LESLIE STEPHEN.
3 Vols. London: Duckworth & Co., 1900.

MR. LESLIE STEPHEN combines the faculty of acute and searching criticism with a style that is singularly clear, incisive, and exact. His wide knowledge of English literature, and the close study which he has given to the history of English opinions and controversies, speculative, political, and economical, have enabled him to survey an extensive field, to trace the lines of origin and development, to disentangle complicated ideas, and to summarise conclusions in a masterly manner. Nearly twenty-five years have passed since he published his work on ‘English Thought in the Eighteenth Century,’ and his present book on the Utilitarians continues, and indeed brings down to our own time, a similar investigation of the course of certain views, principles, and doctrines which had taken their shape in England and France during the period preceding the French Revolution, and which profoundly influenced political discussion throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. But on this occasion Mr. Stephen’s inquiry does not range over the whole area thus laid open, though his subject compels him to make several excursions into the general region of philosophical and political disputation. His main purpose is to relate the history of a creed propagated by a group of remarkable men, who took hold of some prominent theories and doctrines generated by the rationalism of the preceding century, and endeavoured to make them the basis and framework of a system for improving the condition of the English people. Their immediate object was to abolish intolerable abuses of power by the governing classes, and radically to reform on scientific principles the haphazard blundering administration which was assumed to be the source of all evil. Mr. Stephen describes and explains, in short, the rise, progress, and decay of Utilitarianism.

Such a system, by its nature and aims, is evidently practical; it is directed towards a change of laws and an alteration of the prevailing methods of government. To the philosophic minds of the eighteenth century reformers in England and France, it seemed evident that any general conclusions upon questions vitally concerning the interests of mankind should be reached by convincing demonstration, should start from axioms, and proceed by a connected chain

of logical argument. During the latter half of that century England and France, so incessantly at war and so different in character and in their governing institutions, were nevertheless in alliance intellectually. They were then (with Holland) the only countries in the world where public opinion had free play, and where discussion of philosophic problems was actively carried on; and between them there was a constant interchange of ideas. Now in all speculations, on things human or divine, there have existed immemorially two schools or tendencies of thought, two ways of approaching the subject, corresponding, we may conjecture, to a radical difference of intellectual predispositions. You may start by the high *à priori* road, or you may feel your way gradually by induction from verifiable experiences; and of these two main currents of speculative opinion whichever is the stronger at any given period will affect every branch of thought and action. Coleridge appealed to history as proving that all epoch-making revolutions coincide with the rise or fall of metaphysical systems, and he attributed the power of abstract theories over revolutionary movements to the craving of man for higher guidance than sensations. However this may be, it may be affirmed that the rationalism of the eighteenth century in England and France found room by replacing the decaying theologies and substituting reason for the traditional authority. This was the period that produced in France the philosophic conception of abstract humanity, everywhere the same naturally, with a superficial distinction of circumstances, but differentiated in the main by bad laws, artificial inequalities, and social injustice. In France the method of deducing conclusions from abstract principles concerning the rights of man and the social compact gained predominance, until they were shaped by Rousseau and others into the formal indictment of a corrupt society. It was the point and impulse thus given to very real grievances and irritation against privilege, that precipitated the French Revolution. Among the English, on the other hand, their public spirit, the connection of large classes with national affairs, and their habit of compromise, had predisposed the leading minds towards cautious views in philosophy and in politics; and at the century's end their inbred distrust of abstract propositions as a basis for social reconstruction received startling confirmation from the tremendous explosion in France.

The foregoing remarks give in bare outline the conditions

and circumstances, very carefully examined and skilfully analysed by Mr. Leslie Stephen, that prepared and cleared the ground for the Utilitarians. Their object was not to reconstruct, hardly to remodel, existing forms of government; it was to remove abuses, and to devise remedies for the evils of an unwieldy and complicated administrative machine, clogged by stupidity and selfishness. And the plan of Mr. Stephen's first volume is to describe the state of society at this period, the condition of agriculture and the industries, the position of the Church and the Universities, of the Army and Navy, the intellectual tendencies indicated by the philosophic doctrines, and generally to sketch the political and social aspects of England rather more than a hundred years ago. He is writing, as he says, the history of a sect; and in dealing with the tenets of that sect he lays prominent stress upon what may be called the environment, upon the various circumstances which may influence forms of belief, and particularly upon the idiosyncrasies of the men who held and propagated them. It is for this latter reason that he has given us brief and interesting biographies of those whose influence was greatest in shaping and directing the movement, illustrating his narrative by portraits of them as they lived and acted. All these things help us towards understanding how it comes to pass that conclusions which seem clear as daylight to earnest thinkers in one generation may be abandoned by succeeding generations as manifestly erroneous. The inquiry also shows why, and to what extent, some of the doctrines that were scientifically propounded by the Utilitarians did initiate and lead up to an important reformation in the methods of English government.

'It might be stated as a paradox' (Mr. Stephen observes) 'that, whereas in France the most palpable evils arose from the excessive power of the central government, and in England the most palpable evils arose from the feebleness of the central government, the French reformers demanded more government, and the English reformers less government. . . . The solution seems to be easy. In France, reformers such as Turgot and the economists were in favour of an enlightened despotism, because . . . it would suppress the exclusive privileges of a class which, doing nothing in return, had become a mere burthen, encumbering all social development. But in England the privileged class was identical with the governing class.'

The English aristocracy, in fact, were actually doing the country's business, though they were doing it badly, and paid themselves much too highly for very indifferent adminis-

tration. Yet the English nation acquiesced in the system, because the middle classes were growing rich and prosperous, and the State interfered very little with their private affairs. To this general statement of the case we agree ; but we may point out that in terming our aristocracy a privileged class one material distinction has been passed over. For whereas the French *noblesse* constituted a caste partly exempted by birthright from the general taxation, and vested with certain vexatious rights to which no duties corresponded, the English aristocracy possessed legally no privileges at all. It was not an exclusive order, but an upper class that was constantly recruited, being open to all successful men ; and such a governing body is naturally indifferent to reforms, because it is very little affected by administrative imperfections or abuses. Pauperism and ignorance may fester long among the masses before wealthy and prosperous rulers discover that the interests of their own class are imperilled ; the state of prisons does not concern them personally ; and so long as life and property are fairly secure, they care little about an efficient police. The Englishman of whom a Frenchman reported with amazement that he consoled himself for having been robbed by the reflection that there were no policemen in his country, must have belonged to this comfortable class. And the inveterate conservation of abuses in the Church, the Law, and the Army may be partially explained in a similar way. In France the Church and the army were really privileged bodies : the vast ecclesiastical revenues were protected from taxation, and the commissioned ranks of the army were reserved for the *noblesse* ; the French parliaments were close magisterial corporations. In England these were all open professions, with no special fiscal rights or social limitations ; the prizes were available for general competition, and as everyone had a chance of winning them by interest or even merit, there was no formidable outcry against the system.

In politics, therefore, as well as in philosophy, the prevailing habit of the English mind was more moderate, less thoroughgoing and subversive, than in France. Mr. Stephen makes a keen and rapid analysis of the common-sense psychology, as expounded by Reid and Dugald Stewart, to show the correspondence at this period between abstract reasoning and concrete political views, and to illustrate the limitations which cautious Scotch professors endeavoured to place upon the inexorable scepticism of Hume. The general

spirit of their teaching was empirical, but the logical consequence of taking experience as the sole foundation of belief was evidently to cut off the hidden springs of moral consciousness, and to support the derivation of ethics from utility. In philosophy, as in politics, there was a sympathetic recoil from extremes. So common sense was brought in as capable of certain intuitive or original judgements which were in themselves necessary, and which luckily coincided with some of the firmest convictions among intelligent mankind. As Carlyle said long afterwards, the Scottish philosophers started from the mechanical premises suggested by Hume. ‘They let loose instinct as an indiscriminatory bandog to guard them against his conclusions; they tugged lustily against the logical chain by which Hume was so coldly towing them and the world into bottomless abysses of atheism and fatalism.’ To save themselves from materialism they invented Intuitions, and thereby incurred the wrath of orthodox Utilitarianism, which was rigidly empirical. They were, however, accepted in England, where any haven was welcome, however uncertain might be the holding ground, which sheltered the vessel from being blown by windy speculation out into a shoreless sea.

The Scottish philosophy therefore

‘was in philosophy what Whiggism was in politics. Like political Whiggism, it included a large element of enlightened and liberal rationalism; but, like Whiggism, it covered an aversion to thorough-going logic. The English politician was suspicious of abstract principle, but would cover his acceptance of tradition and rule of thumb by general phrases about liberty and toleration. The Whig in philosophy equally accepted the traditional creed, sufficiently purified from cruder elements, and sheltered his doctrine by speaking of intuitions and laws of thought.’

The foregoing quotation may serve to indicate briefly the situation, in politics and philosophy, at the time when Bentham, ‘the patriarch of the English Utilitarians,’ appeared upon the scene. Mr. Stephen’s sketch of his life and doctrines, which occupies the latter half of the book’s first volume, is eminently instructive and often amusing. He excels in tracing the continuity of ideas, and in showing how they converge upon the point of view that is gradually reached by some writer of superior force and activity, who rejects, alters, or uses them in the process of working out the doctrines of some new school. It was the spread of philanthropy, of a conscientious fellow feeling for those

classes of society who suffered from neglect and misrule, that fostered the movement towards political and social reform. This feeling was represented in Bentham's celebrated formula, originally invented by Hutcheson, about 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'; and the criterion of utility was laid down as having the widest possible application to all sorts and conditions of men. Self-help, individualism, *laissez-faire*, the economic view that each should be left free to pursue his own interests, were principles intended to operate for the removal of abuses and the destruction of unfair privileges: they were promulgated for the relief of humanity at large, although the system which was built up on them came afterwards to be denounced as narrow, selfish, and materialistic. These ideas were undoubtedly congenial to the habits and character of Englishmen, who, like free men everywhere, had a traditional distrust of strong and active government, preferring King Log, on the whole, to King Stork. Inequalities and incomprehensible laws were to be seen in the course of Nature no less than in the English Constitution; and in either case a man might rely upon his wits and energy to deal with them. It might be that the defects in human government could only be remedied by employing the forces of government to cure them; but if you began to set going the administrative engine there was no saying where it might stop. Bentham held all government to be an evil, though he differed from the modern anarchist in holding it to be a necessary evil; yet he needed a strong scientific administration for the purpose of rooting out inveterate abuses. And this was the dilemma that confronted him. He worked out his solution of the problem by laying out a whole system of morals and a science of politics, with Utility as their base and standard, which has profoundly influenced all subsequent legislation, and led eventually to much more extensive theories regarding the sphere and duties of government than he himself would have advocated or approved.

The principal events of Bentham's life, and the development of his opinions, are condensed by Mr. Stephen into one chapter with his usual biographical skill. Bentham started in life as a barrister, and attended Blackstone's lectures, with the result that he was deeply impressed by the fallacies of the legal theories there expounded, and soon afterward vowed eternal war against the Demon of Chicane. He struggled against narrow means and obscurity until he made the acquaintance of Lord Shelburne, through whom

he became acquainted with other leading statesmen, and with Miss Caroline Fox, to whom he made a futile proposal of marriage some years later. At Bowood he also met Dumont, and thereby formed his connection with the French jurists, though in his old age he declared that Dumont, his chief interpreter abroad, ' did not understand a word of his "meaning"; the true cause of his quarrel being that Dumont criticised Bentham's dinners. He travelled on the Continent, and lived some time in Russia. Soon afterward the Revolution made a clean sweep of all the old institutions in France, and thus laid open a bare and level ground just suited, as Bentham thought, for an architect who had his portfolio full of new administrative plans. It was long, indeed, before he could understand why systematic reforms were not immediately accepted as soon as their utility was logically demonstrated. He lost no time in providing the French National Assembly with elaborate schemes for the reconstruction of various departments of government, and he even offered to go to France to set up his model prison, proposing himself 'to become gratuitously the gaoler thereof.' The Assembly requited his zeal by conferring on him the title of a French citizen; but social reorganisation took the shape of September massacres and the Reign of Terror, whereat Bentham was disgusted, though in no way disheartened, as a theorist.

'Never' (says Mr. Stephen) 'was an adviser more at cross purposes with the advised. It would be impossible to draw a more striking portrait of the abstract reasoner, whose calculations of human motives omit all reference to passion, and who fancied that all prejudice can be dispelled by a few bits of logic.'

Here, in fact, we have the key to Bentham's character, to its weakness and also to its strength. A philosopher who plunges into the practical affairs of the world without taking human feelings and imagination into account is sure to find himself stumbling about among blocks and blockheads, and tripped up by the illwill of vested interests; but on the other hand, if he has taken the right direction, his ardent energies have the impetus of some natural force. Bentham's earlier notion had been that political reforms could be introduced like improvements in machinery; you had only to prove the superior utility of your new invention to obtain its adoption by all who were concerned in the business. Latterly he made the surprising discovery that in the public offices, in the Law, and in the Church, the heads of these professions are usually quite satisfied with their

own monopolies, are opposed to change, and are always ready with a stock of plausible arguments to show the folly and danger of innovation. If the Utilitarian appeals to facts, common sense, and experience, so also does the Conservative; and until public opinion is decidedly for progress the dead weight prevails. Not for a day did Bentham relax his strenuous exertions, but he changed his tactics; he turned from his mechanical workshop to the study of political dynamics, and he found what he wanted in the rising radicalism—‘his principal occupation, in a word, was ‘to provide political philosophy for radical reformers.’

Of the philosophic creed which Bentham undertook to proclaim from his hermitage at Ford Abbey, with James Mill as his leading apostle, Mr. Stephen gives us a very shrewd and incisively critical examination. The founder of a new faith has usually begun by the earnest and authoritative declaration of a few simple truths and positive doctrines, for which his disciples provide, in course of time, the necessary philosophical basis. Bentham’s voice had been crying ineffectually in the wilderness; and he now set about laying with his own hands the foundations of his beliefs upon primary scientific principles, always with unswerving aim and application to concrete facts. He was a thoroughgoing iconoclast, wielding, like Mahammed, a single formula, to the destruction of idols of the market or tribe, and to the confusion of those who fattened upon antique superstitions. ‘All government is one vast evil,’ and can only be kept from mischief by minute regulations and constant vigilance. Whatever is plainly illogical must be radically wrong—‘to make a barrister a judge is as ‘sensible as it would be to select a procuress for mistress of ‘a girls’ school;’ and a parish boy, if he could read properly, might go through the Church services with the Prayer Book and the Homilies, so that an established Church is a costly and indefensible luxury. Taking Utility, founded on observation of actual facts, as his guide and his measure of existing institutions, he treated them as colossal iniquities, as frauds upon the people, as dead and ineffectual for the purposes of moral and political life. Nevertheless, although he condemned the whole fabric as it stood, Bentham was an absolute believer in the unlimited power of laws and institutions; nor was he far from wishing to deal with them on the principles applicable to the reform of prisons, as undesirable but necessary instruments of coercion to be despotically administered upon a scientific model, after the

fashion of his favourite Panopticon. He was, in short, as Mr. Stephen points out, an unconscious follower of Hobbes, with this difference, that in Bentham's case the omnipotent Leviathan, for control and direction, was to be enlightened public opinion. And he was apparently convinced, without misgivings, that a model government, framed logically upon that common sense which is a public property, could be introduced and enforced under popular sanction as easily as new regulations for an ill-managed gaol. He was fully prepared to make liberal allowance, in framing his constitution, for the differing needs, circumstances, and habits of communities ; he was quite aware that precisely the same legislation would not suit England and India ; but he believed national circumstance and character to be extensively modifiable by manifestly useful institutions, and he was ready to begin the operation at once, ' to legislate for ' Hindostan as well as for his own parish, and to make codes ' not only for England, Spain, and Russia, but also for ' Morocco.'

Mr. Stephen has no difficulty in exposing the shortcomings and inadequacy of these doctrines. But he is writing the history of certain political ideas ; so his main object is to show how such ideas are formed, the course they have followed, and their influence upon thought and action up to the present day. To trace the links and continuity of ideas is to analyse their elements, and to show the impress that they received from external circumstance, permanent or temporary ; it is an important method in the science of politics. Upon the empiricism of English philosophy in the eighteenth century Bentham constructed a Theory of Morals that purported to rest exclusively on facts ascertained and verifiable, with happiness as our being's end and aim, with pain and pleasure as the ultimate principles of conduct ; and upon this foundation he proceeded to build up his system of politics and legislation. Any attempt to derive morality from other sources, or to measure it by other standards, he denounced as arbitrary and misleading ; he threw aside metaphysics, and therefore theology, as illusory. The exclusive appeal to experience, to plain reasoning from the evidence of our senses, from actual observation of human propensities, was sufficient for his purposes, and tallied with his designs as a practical reformer. In these views he was a disciple of Hume, whose influence has surreptitiously percolated all modern thought, and his unintentional allies were the teachers of Natural religion,

with Paley as its principal exponent. Having thus defined and explained the basis of ethical philosophy, the Utilitarian has to build up the superstructure of legal ordinance; and he is at once confronted by the difficult problem of distinguishing the sphere of ethics from the province of law. Upon this vital question Mr. Stephen, as an expert in ethics, gives a dissertation that is exceedingly acute and instructive; and we may commend, in particular, his criticism of the doctrine that the morality of an act depends upon its consequences, not upon its motives. As he observes, this may be true, with certain reserves, in law, where the business of the legislature is to prohibit and punish acts that directly endanger the order and security of a community. But 'the exclusion of motive justifiable in law may take all meaning out of morality'; and yet nothing is more complicated than the question of demarcating a clear frontier between the two provinces. Mr. Stephen's examination of this question is the more important because it involves the problem of regulating private morals by public enactments; and also because the confusion of motives with intentions lies at the bottom of much mischievous sophistry, for some of the worst crimes in history have been suggested by plausible motives, and have been defended on that ground. He shows that Bentham's survey of the springs of human action was incomplete, that he overstrained his formula to make it universally applicable, and that he nevertheless gave a far-reaching impulse to clearer notions and an effective advance in the simplification of legal procedure and the codification of laws. As a moral philosophy, Bentham's system appeared so arid and materialistic that its unpopularity has obscured his real services. For he was the engineer who first led a scientific attack up to the ramparts of legal chicanery, and made a breach through which all subsequent reform found its entry.

The axiom that utility is the source of justice and equity is of very ancient date, and indeed the word is sufficiently elastic to comprehend every conceivable human motive; but no one before Bentham had employed it so energetically as a lever to overturn ponderous abuses, or had pointed his theory so directly against notorious facts. On the other hand, since he despised and rejected historical studies, he greatly miscalculated the binding strength of long usage and possession. He forgot, what Hume had been careful to remember, that whether men's reasoning on these subjects be right or wrong, the conclusions have not really been

reached by logic, but have grown up out of instincts, and correspond with certain immemorial needs and aspirations of humanity. Hume had sketched, before Bentham, his Idea of a perfect commonwealth; yet he begins by the warning that

'it is not with forms of government as with other artificial contrivances; where an old engine may be rejected if we can discover another more accurate and commodious. . . . The bulk of mankind' (he adds) 'are governed by authority, not by reason, and never attributes authority to anything that has not the recommendation of antiquity.'

Hume's mission was to undermine settled fallacies, and to scatter doubt among conventional certitudes; and this loosening of foundations prepared the way for a bolder political projector, who delivered his frontal attack in disdain of the philosopher's warnings. Political projectors, says the cautious Hume, are pernicious if they have power, and ridiculous if they want it. Bentham was quite confident that if he could only get the power lie could radically change for the better the circumstances of a people in any part of the world, by legislation on the principles of Utility; and he was sure that character is indefinitely modifiable by circumstances. That human nature is constantly altering with, and adapting itself to, the environment, is an undeniable truth; but in the moral as in the physical world the natural changes occupy long periods, and to stir the soil hastily may produce a catastrophe. The latter result actually followed in France; while in England the doctrine of the unlimited power of legislation, to be used for the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and wielded by a sovereign State according to the dictates of public opinion, was met by alarm, suspicion, and protracted opposition. It is the habit of Englishmen to admit no proposition, however clear and convincing, until they discover what the propounder intends to do with it. Yet it will be seen that Bentham's plans of reform, if not his principles, did suggest, and to some extent shape, the main direction of judicial and administrative changes during the nineteenth century, though with some consequences that he neither anticipated nor desired. He thought that the State might be invested with power to modify society, and yet might be strictly controlled in the exercise of that power. He might have foreseen, what has actually happened, that the State, once established on a democratic basis, would exercise the power and disregard his carefully drawn

limitations. A tendency toward State Socialism he would have detested above all things ; and yet that is the direction inevitably taken by supreme authority when the responsibility for the greatest happiness of the greatest number is imposed upon it by popular demand.

Mr. Stephen's second volume describes the later phase of the Utilitarian creed, when it passed from its founder into the hands of ardent disciples. The transition necessarily involves some divergence of views and methods. In religious movements it usually begins after the founder's death ; but as Bentham lived to superintend his apostolic successors, his relations with them were not invariably harmonious. The leadership fell upon James Mill, whose early life and general character, the development of his opinions, and the bearing of his philosophy upon his politics, are the subjects of one of those condensed biographical sketches in which Mr. Stephen excels. In the 'History of India,' which brought to James Mill reputation and pecuniary independence, he could apply his deductive theories to a remote and little known country without much risk of contradiction from actual circumstances or of checks from the misapprehension of facts. In England the Utilitarian doctrines, as propounded in Mill's writings, raised up opposition and hostile criticism from various quarters. The general current of ideas and feelings had now set decidedly toward the suppression of inveterate abuses, and toward constitutional reform. Radicalism was gaining ground rapidly, and even Socialism had come to the surface, while Political Economy was in the ascendant. But the old Tories closed their ranks for a fierce resistance against theories that menaced, as it seemed to them, nothing less than destruction to time-honoured institutions ; and the Whigs had no taste for doctrines that pretended to be reasonable but appeared to them in effect revolutionary. The different positions of contending parties were illustrated, as Mr. Stephen shows, by their respective attitudes towards Church Reform. The Tories defended ecclesiastical establishment as one of the main bastions of the citadel ; the Whigs would preserve the Church in subjection to the State ; while James Mill, in the 'Westminster Review,' declared the Church of England to be a mere State machine, worked in subservience to the sinister interest of the governing classes. He desired 'to abolish all dogmas and ceremonies, and to employ the clergy to give lectures on ethics, botany, and political economy, with decent dances and social meals for the celebration of

'Sunday.' Mr. Stephen, after observing that this plan exemplifies 'the incapacity of an isolated clique to understand the real tone of public opinion,' adds that 'it seems to have some sense, but one would like to know whether Newman read his article.' Our own notion would be that it is a signal instance of shortsightedness and of insensibility, on the part of a psychologist, to the strength and persistence of one of the most powerful among the emotions that dominate mankind. Mill's article proclaiming these views appeared in 1835, just at the time when the Oxford Movement was stirring up a wave of enthusiasm for the dogmas and ritual which he treated as obsolete and nonsensical; nor is there anything more remarkable or unexpected in the political changes of the last sixty years, than the discomfiture of those prophets who have foretold the decay of all liturgies and the speedy dissolution of ecclesiastical establishments. This phenomenon is by no means confined to England, or even to Europe; and at the present day, when the power of religious idealism is better understood upon wider experience, no practical politician attempts to disregard sentiments that defy logic and pass the understanding.

Nevertheless Utilitarianism, as represented by James Mill's 'Essay on Government,' was attracting increased attention, and was provoking serious alarm. It was a period of confidence in theories which have been partly confirmed and partly contradicted by subsequent experiences of those 'principles of human nature' in which political speculators so unreservedly trusted. In France, some fifty years earlier, the destructive theorist had swept all before him; in England, while he was assaulting with effect the entrenchments of Conservatism, he was taken in flank by the moderate reformers. Mill had denounced the Whigs as half-hearted and even treacherous allies, who dallied with radicalism to conceal their nefarious design of obtaining political mastery with the fewest concessions possible. He relied upon universal education to qualify the masses for the possession of an extensive franchise, and upon enlightened self-interest to guarantee their proper use of it. Macaulay rejoined, in the 'Edinburgh Review,' that the masses might possibly conclude that they would get more pleasure than pain out of universal spoliation; and that if his opponent's principles were correct and his scheme adopted, 'literature, science, commerce, and manufactures' 'might be swept away, and a few half-naked fishermen'

'would divide with the owls and foxes the ruins of the 'greatest of European cities.' It was a notable controversial tournament, at which the intelligent bystander probably assisted with much satisfaction and no excessive alarm, having little faith in the absolute theorist, and not much in the disinterestedness of the Whigs. For the moment it was sufficient that both parties agreed in supporting the Reform Bill, although, as Mr. Stephen remarks, the Radical regarded it as a payment on account, while the Whig hoped that it would be a full and final discharge. We may observe, to the honour of a great Liberal family, that as the first Lord Lansdowne discerned Bentham's talents and gave him his start in life, so the impression made upon the second marquis by Macaulay's articles induced him to offer the writer his first seat in Parliament.

Mr. Stephen deals with the duel between Mill and Macaulay from the standpoint of an impartial umpire, with an expert's appreciation of their logical fencing and some humorous glances at the heated combatants. Mill was an austere Puritan, who would fell the Tory like an ox and would trample upon the cunning self-seeking Whig. The Edinburgh Reviewers were a set of brilliant young men who represented intellectual Liberalism; but 'they were 'men who meant to become judges, members of Parliament, 'or even bishops, and nothing in their social atmosphere 'had stimulated the deep resentment against social injustice 'which makes the fanatic or the enthusiast.' As a sample of Whiggism Mr. Stephen takes Mackintosh, who, on the subject of the French Revolution, stood half-way between Burke's holy horror of a diabolic outburst and the applause of root-and-branch Radicals. For a type of Conservatism he gives us Robert Southey, whose fortune it was to be fiercely abused by the Utilitarians and ridiculed by the Whigs. Southey, like many others, had been frightened out of early Liberalism into the conviction that Reform would be the inevitable precursor of revolution; and in 1817 he had written to Lord Liverpool that the only hope of saving the country lay in gagging the seditious press. 'Concessions,' he said, 'can only serve to hasten the catastrophe. 'Woe be to the garrison who hoist a white flag to an enemy 'that gives no quarter.' Yet Southey had a deep feeling for the misery of the lower classes at this period of widespread distress. In his belief in the power of Government to remedy social evils, he was much nearer the accepted line of later public opinion than Macaulay, who would have

confined the State's business to the maintenance of order, the defence of property, and the practice of departmental economy. And when Southey, following Coleridge and preceding Gladstone, insisted upon the vital importance of religion as a principle of State policy, neither he nor Gladstone deserved all the ridicule cast upon them by Macaulay in his brilliant essays; for at any rate no first-class Government in Europe has hitherto ventured upon dissolving connection with the Church.

For his philosophy, Mr. Stephen tells us, Southey was in the habit of referring to Coleridge, whose hostility to the Utilitarians went on different and deeper grounds. Coleridge had convinced himself that all the errors of the time, and their political dangers, arose from a false and godless empiricism. He declared that revolutionary periods have always been connected with the popular prevalence of abstract ideas, and that the speculative principles of men between twenty and thirty are the great source of political prophecy. He developed this view in a singular letter upon the state of affairs and opinions which he also, like Southey, addressed to Lord Liverpool in 1817, and which somewhat bewildered that veteran statesman. With the moderns, he said, 'nothing grows, all is made'; whereas growth itself is but a disguised mode of being made by the superinduction of the *jam data* on the *jam datum*; and he insisted that 'the flux of individuals at any moment in existence in a country is there for the value of the State, far more than the State for them, though both positions are true proportionately.' In other words, Coleridge pressed the evolutionary view against the sharp set, shortsighted Utilitarian propositions; and he would have agreed that antiquated prejudices are absurd only to those who have not looked back to their origin, when they can be found to proceed in logical order from natural causes. He had not been always a resolute opponent of the Utilitarian theory of morals; but, like other philosophers, he had become alarmed at the consequence of being shut up within the prison of finite senses, and he grasped at Kant's discovery of the difference between Understanding and Reason, in order to retire upon a metaphysical basis of religion and morality, and to withstand the prudential calculus. We are inclined to suggest that Mr. Stephen, who does little more than glance at Coleridge's position, has underestimated his influence upon the intellectual direction of politics in the first half of this century. Coleridge certainly provided an antidote to the

crudity of eager Radicalism in Church and State, and his ideas may be recognised not only in the great High Church movement that was stirred up by the Tractarians, but also in the larger comprehension of the duties and attributes of the State that has been slowly gaining ground up to our own day.

It is, indeed, the growth and developement of English opinion regarding these public duties and attributes, as it is traced in Mr. Stephen's book, that forms, in our opinion, its chief value; and we are reviewing it mainly as a history of political ideas. This is, we believe, the practical outcome of the increasing feeling of sympathy between different classes of the community, of a sense of responsibility, of what is called altruism, of solidarity among all the diverse interests that have lately characterised our legislation :

'The two great rival theories of the functions of the State are the theory which was for so many years dominant in England, and which may for convenience be called the Individualist theory : and the theory which is stated most fully and powerfully by the Greek philosophers, which we may call the Socialist theory. The Individualist theory regards the State as a purely utilitarian institution, a mere means to an end. . . . It represents the State as existing mainly for the protection of property and personal liberty, and as having therefore no concern with the private life and character of the citizen, except in so far as these may make him dangerous to the material welfare of his neighbour.

'The Greek theory, on the other hand, though it likewise regards the State as a means to certain ends, regards it as something more. . . . According to this theory, no department of life is outside the scope of politics ; and a healthy State is at once the end at which the science aims, and the engine by which its decrees are carried out.'*

Accepting this passage as a philosophical statement of tendencies, we may observe that neither theory has ever been definitely adopted in England. The Utilitarians desired to recast institutions for the greater happiness of all citizens, but they were averse to investing the State with autocratic powers of interference. The Tories, on the other hand, were awakening to the conviction that the Government must do more for the people ; but their fear of change, and their own 'sinister interests,' persuaded them that this might be done without radical reforms. The Whigs faced both ways, and since in England the truly valuable effect of

* *The Greek Theory of the State*, by Charles John Shebbeare, B.A. 1895.

extreme opinions is always to drive the majority into a middle course, they rose to power on that compromise which is represented by the Reform measures of 1832. The Reform Bill was accepted by the Utilitarians as an instalment of the rightful authority of the people over the conduct of public affairs, and therefore a provisional method of promoting their welfare. The first Tory statesman of that day, on the contrary, was convinced that for the public welfare the existing Constitution could not be bettered :

' During one hundred and fifty years the Constitution in its present form has been in force ; and I would ask any man who hears me to declare whether the experience of history has produced any form of government so calculated to promote the happiness and secure the liberties of a free and enlightened people.' *

Both parties, in fact, appealed to experience ; but Peel took his stand upon history, which the Utilitarians disregarded as a mere record of unscientific errors, or at most as a lighthouse to give warning of rocks, rather than a lamp to show the road ahead. And the point upon which they joined issue was as to the consequences of staking the whole fabric of government upon the basis of public opinion, operating through almost unlimited popular suffrage. The Tory foretold that this would end in wrecking the Constitution, with the ship among breakers, and steering by ballot voting. The Benthamite persuaded himself that enlightened self-interest, empirical perceptions of utility, and general education, would prevail with the multitude for their support of a rational system. But with those who demanded sovereignty for the people a strict limitation of the sphere of government was one essential maxim ; and the Utilitarians would have agreed with Guizot when he declared it to be ' a mere commonplace that as civilisation and reason progress, the sphere of public authority contracts.' They do not appear to have foreseen that whenever the masses should have got votes legislation would become democratic, or even socialistic, in order to capture them. This discovery was eventually made by the Tories, who availed themselves of it to dish the Whigs, and to come forward again upon a popular suffrage as the true friends and guardians of the people.

In Mr. Stephen's second volume James Mill is the principal figure, as the apostle of Benthamism, though he also describes briefly, in his terse and incisive style, the lives

* Sir Robert Peel's speech on Reform, March 1831.

and opinions of some notable men, foes as well as friends to the party, who represented different expressions of energetic protest against existing institutions. To each of them is allotted his proper place in the line of attack, and his due share in the general enterprise of rousing, by argument or invective, the slow-thinking English people to a sense of their lamentable condition. Cobbett and Owen were at feud with true Utilitarians, and in unconscious alliance, against the orthodox economists, with the Tories, who, as we have said, have eventually found their advantage in the democratic movement. Cobbett fought for the cause of the agricultural labourer, trodden under foot by squires and parsons. Owen believed that the grasping capitalist, with his steam machinery, would further degrade and impoverish the working classes. Godwin, who is merely mentioned by Mr. Stephen, was a peaceful anarchist, who proposed 'to abolish the whole craft and mystery of government,' to abandon coercion and rely upon just reasoning, upon the enlightened assent of individuals to the payment of taxes. They all embodied ideas that are incessantly fermenting in some ardent minds, and that maintain a perceptible influence on political controversies at the present day. Godwin agreed with the Utilitarians that government is a bad thing in itself, but he went beyond them in concluding that it is, or ought to be, unnecessary to society. To both Radical and Socialist Utilitarianism, with its frigid philanthropy and its reliance on self-help, prudence, and free competition for converting miserable masses into a healthy and moral population, was the gospel of selfishness, invented for the salvation of landlords and capitalists. Malthus was the heartless exponent of natural laws that kept down multiplication by famine, while the rich man fared sumptuously every day; and the Ricardians, with their mechanical balancing of supply and demand, were mocking distress by solemn formulas. It must be admitted that these sharp assailants hit some palpable rifts in the Utilitarian armour of proof; and we know that popular sentiment has since been compelling later economists to take up much wider ground in defence of their scientific position.

The doctrines of Malthus, of Ricardo and of Ricardo's disciples are subjected to a searching analysis by Mr. Stephen, who brings out their limitations very effectively. Yet it is by no means easy, even under our author's skilful guidance, to follow the Utilitarian track through the fields

of economy, philosophy, and theology, and to show in what manner or degree it led up to the issues under discussion in our own time. All these 'streams of tendency' have had their influence on the main current and direction of contemporary politics, but they cannot be measured or mapped out upon the scale of a review. And, in regard to political economy, we may even venture to question whether the earlier dogmatic theories now retain sufficient interest to justify the space which, in this volume, has been devoted to a scrutiny of them; for their methods, as well as their conclusions, have now become to a certain extent obsolete. A strictly empirical science must be continually changing with fresh data and a broader outlook; it is always shifting under stress of new interests, changed feelings, and unforeseen contingencies; it is very serviceable for the exposure of errors, but its own demonstrations are in time proved to be erroneous or inadequate. Moreover, to explain the ills that afflict a society, and to declare them incurable except by patience and slow alterative medicines, is often to render them intolerable; nor is it of much practical importance to lay out, on hard scientific principles, the methodical operation of causes and effects that have always been understood in a rough experimental way.

'The truth that scarcity meant dearness was apparently well known to Joseph in Egypt, and applied very skilfully for his purpose. Economists have framed a theory of value which explains more precisely the way in which this is brought about. A clear statement may be valuable to psychologists; but for most purposes of political economy Joseph's knowledge is sufficient.'

If Joseph had written a treatise on the agrarian tenures of Egypt he might not have bought them up so easily at famine prices, and he might have entangled himself in a discussion upon peasant properties. The economist who makes an inductive demonstration of unalterable natural laws and propensities may be likened to the scientific legislator who undertakes to codify prevailing usages: he turns an elastic custom, constantly modified in practice by needs and sentiments, into an unbending statute, when the bare unvarnished statement of the principle produces an outcry. Natural processes will not bear calm philosophic explanations that are understood to imply approval of them "as cruel but inevitable; not even in such an essentially moralistic argument as that of Butler's 'Analogy,' which some have regarded as a plea of ambiguous advantage to the cause of natural religion. Malthus, for example, proved undeniably

the pernicious consequences of reckless propagation ; but he who forces a great evil upon public attention is expected to find the practical remedy ; and Malthus had little to prescribe beyond a few palliative measures and the expediency of self-restraint, while his proposal to abolish the poor laws in the interest of pauperism was interpreted as a recommendation that poor folk should be starved into prudential and self-reliant habits. Malthus held, indeed, that the improvement of the condition of the labouring classes should be considered as the main interest of society. But he also thought that

'to improve their condition, it is essential to impress them with the conviction that they can do much more for themselves than others can do for them, and that the *only* source of their permanent improvement is the improvement of their moral and religious habits. What government can do, therefore, is to maintain such institutions as may strengthen the *vis medicatrix*, or desire to better our condition, which poor laws had directly tended to weaken.'

There is much wisdom to be found in these counsels ; but good advice rather excites than allays the ignorant impatience of acute suffering, and popular opinion soon began to inquire whether the *vis medicatrix* might not be administered in some more drastic form by the State. The conception of a rational government superintending, without interference, the slow evolution of morals, had a kind of correspondence, in the religious sphere, with the doctrine of pre-established harmonies so clearly ordained that to suggest any need of further Divine interposition to readjust them occasionally was a reflection upon the wisdom and foresight of Providence. But the stress and exigencies of modern party politics has rendered this attitude untenable for the temporal ruler.

The pure economists, however, prescribed moral remedies without investigating the elements of morality. They settled the laws of production and distribution as eliminated from the observation of ordinary facts ; they corrected errors and registered the mechanical working of human desires and efforts. It is Mr. Stephen's plan, throughout this book, to show the bearing of philosophical speculation on practical conduct ; and accordingly, after his chapter on Malthus and the Ricardians, he turns back again to philosophy and ethics. His clear and cogent exposition of the views and conclusions put forward on these subjects by Thomas Brown, with the express approval of James Mill, is an illustration of Coleridge's dictum regarding the

connection between abstract theories and political movements. Admitting the connection, we may again observe that there is a certain danger in stating the theories too scientifically. Neither morals nor religion are much aided by digging down into their foundations. Yet the logical constructor of a new system usually finds himself driven by controversy into a discussion of ultimate ideas, though the Utilitarians refused to be forced back into metaphysics. No professor of philosophy, however, can altogether avoid asking himself what underlies experience and the formation of beliefs ; and Brown did his best for the Utilitarians by defining Intuition as a belief that passes analysis, a principle independent of human reasoning, which ‘does not allow us to pass a single ‘step beyond experience, but merely authorises us to in-‘terpret experience.’ It was James Mill’s mission to cut short and to simplify philosophical aberrations, for his practical purposes :

‘As a publicist, a historian, and a busy official, he had not much time to spare for purely philosophic reading. He was not a professor in want of a system, but an energetic man of business, wishing to strike at the root of superstitions to which his political opponents appealed for support. He had heard of Kant, and seen “what the poor man would be at.”’

His own views are elaborated in his book on the ‘Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind,’ for a close criticism of which we must refer readers to Mr. Stephen’s second volume. The connection of these dissertations with the social and political ends of the Utilitarians lies, it may be said briefly, in the support which a purely experiential psychology gives to the doctrine that human character depends on external circumstance, and that such vague terms as the ‘moral sense’ only disguise the true identity of rules of morality with the considerations that can be shown to produce general happiness. Whenever there appears to be a conflict between these rules and considerations, ‘utility is the only sure criterion. To the extreme situations in which casuistry revels, as when a man is called upon to sacrifice his life or his personal honour for his country’s good, the Utilitarian would apply this unfailing test inexorably ; in such cases a man ought to decide upon a calculation of the greatest happiness of the majority. He does not, in fact, apply this reckoning ; he may possibly not have time, at the urgent moment, to work it out ; his heroism is inspired by the universal praise or blame that reward self-devotion or punish shrinking from

it, and thus render acts moral or immoral by the habitual association of ideas. The martyr or patriot does not, indeed, stop to calculate ; he does not feel the subtle egoism that is hidden in the desire for applause ; he believes himself to be acting with the perfect disinterestedness which can only be accounted for by superficial reasoners on the assumption of some such abstract notion as religion, moral sense, or duty. Since the behaviour of mankind at large, therefore, is invariably guided by a remote or proximate consideration of utility ; since conduct depends upon character, and character is shaped by external conditions and positive sanctions, it is possible to frame, on utilitarian principles, scientific rules of behaviour which can be powerfully, though indirectly, promoted by legislation and a system of enlightened polity. For morality, it is argued, can be materially assisted by pointing to, or even providing, the serious consequences that are inseparable from human misdeeds, by proving that pain or pleasure follow different kinds of behaviour ; while motives are so complex that they can never be verified with certainty, and must therefore be left out of account. This anatomy of the springs of action obviously lays bare some truths, although they fit in much better with the department of the legislator than of the moralist. As Mr. Stephen forcibly shows, although the consideration of motive may fall very seldom within the sphere of legislation, yet no theory which should exclude its influence on the moral standard could be tolerated, since the motive is of primary importance in our ethical judgement of conduct. Nor has motive, as discriminated from intention, ever been kept entirely outside the criminal law, notwithstanding the danger of admitting, as an extenuation of some violent crime, that the offender had convinced himself that some religious or patriotic cause would be served by it. James Mill's view of morals as theoretically co-ordinate with law because in both departments the intention is the essential element in measuring actions according to their consequences—operated in practical contradiction to his principle of restraining State interference within narrow limits. It is this latter principle which has since given way. For the general trend of later political opinion has evidently been towards bringing public morality more and more under administrative regulation ; and this manifestly indicates a growing expansion of ideas upon the legitimate duties and jurisdiction of the State.

Upon James Mill's psychology Mr. Stephen's conclusion,



with which we may agree, is that his analysis of virtue into enlightened self-interest is unsuccessful, and we have seen that his conception of government, as an all-powerful machine resting upon, yet strictly limited by, public opinion, has failed on the side of the limitations. Yet although Mill could not explain virtue he was, after his fashion, a virtuous man, whose life was conscientiously devoted to public objects.

'His main purpose, too, was to lay down a rule of duty, almost mathematically ascertainable, and not to be disturbed by any sentimentalism, mysticism, or rhetorical foppery. If, in the attempt to free his hearers from such elements, he ran the risk of reducing morality to a lower level, and made it appear as unamiable as sound morality can appear, it must be admitted that in this respect, too, his theories reflected his personal character.'

It is also probable that his theories, and his bitter controversies in defence of them, reacted on his personal character, and that both influences are to be traced beyond James Mill's own life, in the mental and social prepossessions which he bequeathed to his son.

Mr. Stephen's third volume is chiefly occupied by the history of the later Utilitarians, and the expansion of their cardinal principle in its application to a changing temper of the times, under the leadership of John Stuart Mill. We have, first, a closely written and critical description of this remarkable man's early life, his stringent educational training, the development of his opinions, and their influence upon the orthodox tenets of the sect. Upon all these subjects Mill has left us, under his own hand, more intimate and circumstantial particulars than are to be found, perhaps, in any other personal memoir. The writer who tells his own story usually passes hastily over boyhood; the ordinary biographer gives some family details, or endeavours to amuse us with trivial anecdotes of the child who became an important man. J.S. Mill hardly alludes to any member of his family except his father, and his early days are marked by a total absence of triviality. He was bound over to hard intellectual labour at home during the years that for most of us pass so lightly and unprofitably at a public school; he was a voracious and indefatigable reader and writer from his youth up, with a wolfish hunger (as Browning calls it) for knowledge; he plunged into all the current discussions of philosophy and politics; he became a practised writer and made a good figure at debating clubs; he became so intent on the solution of complex social problems

as to acquire a distaste for general society ; his mental concentration blunted his sensibility to the physical passions that so powerfully sway mankind.

Nevertheless, Mill's outlook upon the world was much wider than his father's, and his aim was so to adjust the Utilitarian creed as to bring it into closer working accord with the advancing ideas and projects of the political parties to whom he was nearest in sympathy. He allied himself in the beginning with the Philosophical Radicals, in the hope of organising them for active service in the cause. But this group soon broke up, and Mr. Stephen ascribes their failure in part to their name, observing that the word “‘Philosophical’ ‘in English is synonymous with visionary, unpractical, and ‘perhaps simply foolish.’ There would be less satire, and possibly more justice, in saying that the word gives a chill to the energetic hot-gospeller of active Radicalism, who pushes past the philosopher as one standing too far behind the fighting line, although he may be useful in forging explosives in some quiet laboratory. Mill himself was continually hampered, as an ardent combatant, by the impedimenta which he brought into the field in the shape of abstract speculations which could not be made to fit in with the immediate demands of thoroughgoing partisans. His democratic fervour was tempered by his conviction of the incapacity of the masses. He was a Socialist ‘in the sense ‘that he looked forward to a complete, though distant, ‘revolution in the whole structure of society’ ; he discovered that the Chartist had crude views upon political economy ; his attitude toward factory legislation was very dubious. Yet in the main purpose of his life and writings, which was to mend and guide public opinion on social and political questions by theoretical treatment—that is, by a logically connected survey of the facts—he was undoubtedly successful, as is shown by the popularity of his two great works on ‘Logic’ and ‘Political Economy,’ which became the text-books of higher study on these subjects for a whole generation. On the other hand, he exposed himself to the distrust and hostility that are always aroused by philosophical arguments which strike at the roots of established beliefs and prejudices, and are discovered to be really more dangerous to them than a direct assault.

It was the philosophic strategy of J. S. Mill to prosecute the Utilitarian war against metaphysics, and finally to exterminate Intuitions, being convinced, as he said, that the *à priori* and spiritualistic thinkers still far exceeded the

partisans of experience, and that a great majority of Englishmen were still Intuitionists. Is this actually a true account of English thought? Mr. Stephen thinks not, for he believes that if Mill had not lived much apart from ordinary folk he would have found Englishmen practically, though not avowedly, predisposed to empiricism, which has been the philosophic tradition in this country since Hobbes. We so far agree with Mr. Stephen that we believe Englishmen, in general, to practise a great deal more of empiricism than they avow. But Mill proposed to demonstrate and declare it as a weapon in polemics and an engine of action, and it was here, probably, that the main body of Englishmen deserted him. They were not ready to cut themselves off from theology and from all ideas that transcend experience, and they demurred to the paramount jurisdiction of logic in temporal affairs. To every section of Churchmen the relegation of moral sanctions within the domain of verifiable consequences was a doctrine to be resisted strenuously. With the high sacerdotalist it amounted to a denial of the Christian mysteries; to the Broad Churchman it was ethically inadequate and ignoble; to the scholastic professor of divinity it meant ruinous materialism.

That a vigorous thinker should have begun by striking at what seemed to him the root of obstructive fallacies was natural enough. He supposed that a logical demonstration would clear the ground for his plans of reform; whereas, on the contrary, it entangled him in preliminary disputation, and his inflexible reasoning alarmed people who followed experience as the guide of life, but instinctively felt that there must be something beyond phenomenal existence. In political economy Mill relied upon common sense and practice in affairs to make the requisite allowance for general laws founded on human propensities regarded abstractedly. His conviction was, in short, that nothing should be taken for granted because everything might be explained; and he desired to tie men down to accepting no belief, or even feeling, that could not be justified by reason. His 'System of Logic' was, as he has himself written, a text-book for the doctrine 'which derives all knowledge from experience, ' and all moral and intellectual qualities principally from the 'direction given to the associations.' When he proceeded to construct a systematic psychology upon this basis, he fell into the fundamental perplexities that are concisely brought out by Mr. Stephen in his scrutiny of Mill's doctrine of Causation. He followed Hume in severing any necessary

connection between cause and effect, and even invariable sequence became incapable of proof. But when he resolved Cause into a statement of existing conditions that can never be completely known until we have mastered the whole series of physical phenomena, and showed that all human induction is fallible because necessarily imperfect, it became clear that Mill had very little to offer in substitution for those grounds of ordinary belief that he was bent on demolishing. The word Cause is reduced, for ordinary use, to a signification not unlike that which is understood in loose popular language by the word Chance, since Chance means no more than ignorance of how an event came to pass ; and in no case, according to Mill, can we ever calculate with security what undiscoverable conditions may suddenly bring about an unexpected event contrary to previous experience. The uniformity of Nature, as Mr. Stephen remarks, is thus made exceedingly precarious ; and to the practical intelligence, which looks for some basis that cannot be argued about, there is still something to be said for Intuition. And when Mill, still in search of some precise formula, undertook to interpret persistent sequences by his theory of Real Kinds possessing an indeterminate number of coherent properties—so that our belief in the invariable blackness of crows is justified as a collocation of these visible properties—he merely throws the problem of Causation farther backward. We have to be content with direct observation of phenomena that can be classified as co-existent ; we can perceive that things accompany each other, but we can never be sure that they follow each other, as they appear to do.

It may be doubted whether Mill's treatment of these problems has materially affected subsequent psychological speculation, which has since taken different and deeper courses. His main objective was social and political.

'The notion,' he has written, 'that truths external to the mind may be known by intuition, or consciousness, independently of observation and experience, is, I am persuaded, in these times the great intellectual support of false doctrines and bad institutions.' In confounding the metaphysicians, and eliminating all mysterious assumptions or axioms, he aimed at clearing the ground for a demonstrable science of character, and to establish the great principle that character can be indefinitely modified. The way is thus opened to questions of conduct, to positive remedies for social and political evils which, as they have

been generated and fostered by external circumstances, can be removed by a change of those circumstances.

'The greatest problems of the time were either economical or closely connected with economical principles. Mill had followed the political struggles with the keenest interest; he saw clearly their connection with underlying social movements; and he had thoroughly studied the science—or what he took to be the science—which must afford guidance for a satisfactory working out of the great problems. The Philosophical Radicals were deserting the old cause, and becoming insignificant as a party. But Mill had not lost his faith in the substantial soundness of their economic doctrines. He thought, therefore, that a clear and full exposition of their views might be of the highest use in the coming struggle. . . . The "Political Economy" speedily acquired an authority unapproached by any work published since the "Wealth of Nations."'

We cannot follow Mr. Stephen through his elaborate and effective review of this celebrated book. Its appearance marked an epoch in the history of Utilitarianism, for it took a much wider survey of social and political considerations, and the author undertook to expand the orthodox economic theories so that they might embrace and be reconciled with some daring projects of comprehensive reform. But Mill had to put some strain on the principles to which he adhered, and to accommodate certain inconsistencies in order to keep pace with moving ideas. He held on with some effort to the cardinal tenets of the older Utilitarians, to a dislike of interference by governments, to reliance on individual effort, to protest against the deadening influence of paternal administration, to his own trust in the gradual effect of educational agencies, and in the slow emancipation of the popular mind from unreasoning prejudices. On the other hand, he advocated a radical reform of the land laws, peasant proprietorship, the acquisition by the State of railways and canals, the limitation of the right of bequest; and he went even so far as to speak with approval of laws in restraint of improvident marriages. All these proposals could only be carried out by arbitrary and drastic legislation. As he put it, the State must interfere for the purpose of making the people independent of further interference; and he overlooked or set aside the question whether the eventual result of thus calling in the State's agency would not be contrary to the principles and professed intentions of the Utilitarian school, whether the provisional *régime* would not become permanent, as, in fact, it has been rapidly becoming ever since.

We can see, moreover, that while J. S. Mill's sympathy with the popular cause and with the most ardent reformers was sincere, he was at issue with them in regard to the means, though not in regard to the ends; he wished to better the intelligence of the people as the first step toward bettering their condition. But when he had convinced himself, as he said, that no great improvements in the lot of mankind are possible until a great change takes place in the fundamental constitution of their modes of thought, he had still to persuade men who were stirring and pressing for immediate action that gradual methods were the best. Most of them may have preferred to try whether, if the lot of mankind were improved materially, the moral changes and mental habits would not follow; for indeed Mill's proposition might stand examination and hold good either way. It may be argued that an elevation or widening of intellectual views is the consequence, as often as it is the cause, of increasing comfort and leisure. He thought that all reading and writing which does not tend to promote a renovation of the world's belief is of very little value beyond the moment, which is, of course, true in a general sense; though literature can act much more directly than by dealing with first principles. He welcomes Free Trade as one triumph of Utilitarian doctrines, yet he sadly observes that the English public are quite as raw and undiscerning on subjects of political economy since the nation was converted to Free Trade as before. The nation, in fact, went straight at the immediate point, got what it wanted at the moment, and were satisfied.

Mr. Stephen's criticism of Mill's later writings exhibits further his difficulties in adjusting the essential Utilitarian principles to closer contact with the urgent questions of the day. Mill still held to competition, to the full liberty of individuals, to the inevitable mechanical working of economic laws; he still doubted the expediency of factory legislation, and condemned any laws in restraint of usury. He was opposed, broadly, to all authoritative intrusion upon human existence wherever its necessity could not be proved conclusively to be in the interest of a self-reliant community. Yet he was forced to make concessions and exceptions in the face of actual needs and grievances; and especially he found himself more and more impelled to tolerate and even advocate interference by the State as the only effective instrument for demolishing obstacles to the moral and material betterment of the people. Since unjust social inequalities

could be traced to an origin in force or fraud, the legislature might be logically called in to remove them ; and as this is manifestly the revolutionary argument (as embodied, for example, in the writings of Thomas Paine), it enabled him to join hands with Radicalism in proposing some very thoroughgoing measures. ‘ Landed property in Europe ‘ derives its origin from force ; ’ so the legislature is entitled to interpose for the reclamation of rights unjustly usurped from the community ; while, as economical science shows that the value of land rises from natural causes, the conclusion is that the State may confiscate the unearned increment. But it was not so easy to convince the hungry mechanic, by rather fine-drawn distinctions, that the capitalist had a better right to monopolise profits than the landlord ; for the rise of value in manufactured commodities has very complex causes, some of them superficially natural. So here, again, is a plausible case of social injustice. Again, it may be affirmed that all powerful associations, private as well as public, operate in restriction of individual liberty. You may argue that great industrial companies are voluntary ; the question is whether they are innocuous to the common weal, and we may add that this point is coming seriously to the front at the present time. The distinction, as Mr. Stephen remarks, drawn by the old individualism between State institutions and those created by private combination is losing its significance ; and, what is more, public bodies are now continually encouraged to absorb private enterprise in all matters that directly concern the people.

In short, we are on the high road to State Socialism, though Mill helps us to console ourselves with having taken that road on strictly scientific principles. It is the not unusual result of stating large benevolent theories for popular application ; the principle is accepted and its limitations are disregarded. Nevertheless Mill contends gallantly in his later works for intellectual liberty, complete freedom of discussion, and the utility of tolerating the most eccentric opinions. Into what practical difficulties and questionable logical distinctions he was drawn by the necessity of fencing round his propositions and making his reservations is well known ; and Mr. Stephen hits the weak points with keen critical acumen. We all agree that persecution has done frightful mischief, at times, by suppressing the free utterance of unorthodox opinions. But Mill argues that contradiction, even of truth, is desirable in itself, because a doctrine, true or false, becomes a dead belief without the

invigorating conflict of opposite reasonings. Resistance to authority in matters of opinion is a sacred privilege essential to the formation of belief; wherefore originality, even when it implies stupidity, is to be carefully protected as a factor of human progress. We need not follow Mr. Stephen in his victorious analysis of the arguments wherewith Mill seeks to uphold this uncompromising individualism, and to guard human perversity against the baneful influence of authority. It is clear enough that society cannot waste its time in perpetual wrangling over issues upon which an authoritative verdict has been delivered; and for most of us a reasonable probability, founded on the judgement of experts, is sufficient in moral or physical questions as well as in litigation. The religious arena still remains open, where experts differ and decisions are always disputable. Yet Mr. Arthur Balfour devotes a chapter in his 'Foundation of Beliefs' to the contention that our convictions on all the deeper subjects of thought are determined not by reason but by authority; whereby he provides us with an escape from the scepticism that menaces a philosopher who has proved all experience to be at bottom illusory. Mill, on the other hand, would make short work with authority wherever it checks or discourages the unlimited exercise of free individual inquiry; and in politics he would entrust the sovereign power to a representation of the entire aggregate of the community, with the most ample encouragement of incessant discussion. This is, indeed, the system actually in force, and in England it has answered very well; but Mill hardly foresaw that its tendency would be to make the State, as the embodiment of popular will, not less but more authoritative, with a tendency to encroach steadily upon the sphere of individual effort and private enterprise.

It may be said that the abstract Utilitarian^{*} doctrine reached its high-water mark in Mill's book on the Subjection of Women, to which Mr. Stephen allots one section of a chapter. The book is a particular enlargement upon Mill's general view that it is a pestilent error to regard such marked distinctions of human character as sex or race as innate and in the main indelible. What is called the nature of women he treats as an artificial thing, an isolated fact which need not at any rate be recognised by law; the proper test was, he argued, to leave free competition to determine whether the distinction is radical or merely the result of external circumstance. But, as Mr. Stephen answers, such a plain physiological difference is at least not

negligible ; and competition between the sexes may favour the despotism of the stronger, while complete independence on both sides implies freedom to separate at will ; and Mill had only glanced evasively at the question of divorce. Here, again, is a theory which the pressure of social conditions, much more than abstract reasoning, is bringing more and more into prominence with our own generation. On the wider and more complicated question of race distinctions Mill never worked out his argument against their indelibility into a regular treatise ; nor could he foresee the increasing influence upon contemporary politics that is now exercised by racial feelings and their claims to recognition. In the eighteenth century the French Encyclopédistes, who were the direct philosophic ancestors of the Utilitarians, regarded frontiers, classes, and races as so many barriers against the spread of universal fraternity ; and the revolutionary government took up the idea as a war-cry. The armies of the French Republic proclaimed the rights of the people in all countries, until Napoleon turned the democratic doctrine into the form of Imperialism. M. Eugène de Vogüé has told us recently that this armed propaganda produced a reaction in Europe toward that strong sentiment of nationality which has been vigorously manifested during the second half of the nineteenth century. The assertion of separate nationalities, by the demand for political autonomy and by the attempt to revive the public teaching of obscure languages, is the form taken in western and central Europe by the problem of race. No movement could be more contrary to the views or anticipations of the Utilitarians, for whom it would have been merely a recrudescence of one of those inveterate and unreasoning prejudices which still retard human progress, a fiction accepted by indolent thinkers to avoid the trouble of investigating the true causes that modify human character. Yet not only is national particularism making a fresh stir in Europe, but the spread of European dominion over Asia has forced upon our attention the immense practical importance of racial distinctions. We find that they signify real and profound characteristics ; the European discovers that in Asia he is himself one of a ruling race, and thereby isolated among the other groups into which the population is subdivided. If he is a sound Utilitarian he will nevertheless cherish the belief that economical improvements, public instruction, good laws, and regular administration will obliterate antipathies, eradicate irrational prejudices, and reconcile Asiatic folk to

the blessings of scientific civilisation. But he will confess that it is a stubborn element, if not innate yet very like such a quality; if not ineffaceable, yet certain to outlast his dominion. It is at least remarkable that Mill's protest against explaining differences of character by race, to which Buckle 'cordially subscribed,' should have been answered in our time by a clamorous demand for the recognition of those very differences, and by an increasing tendency to admit them.

Upon Mill's theological speculations Mr. Stephen has written an interesting chapter, illustrating Mill's desire to treat religion more sympathetically, with a deeper sense of its importance in life, than in the absolute theories of the older Utilitarians. Bentham had declared that the principle of theology, of referring everything to God's will, was no more than a covert application of the test of utility. You must first know whether a thing is right in order to discover whether it is conformable to God's pleasure; and a religious motive, he said, is good or bad according as the religious tenets of the person acting upon it approach more or less to a coincidence with the dictates of utility. The next step, as Bentham probably knew well, is to throw aside an abstraction that has become virtually superfluous, and to march openly under the Utilitarian standard. But there was in Mill a moral and emotional instinct that deterred him from resting without uneasiness upon such a bare empirical conclusion. He rejected all transcendental conceptions; yet he did his best, as Mr. Stephen shows, to find reasonable proofs of a Deity whose existence and attributes may be inferred by observation and experience. He agreed that such an inference is not inconsistent, *a priori*, with natural laws, and the argument from design was admitted as providing by analogy, or even inductively, a large balance of probability in favour of creation by Intelligence. The difficulty is to attain by these methods the idea of a Deity perfect in power, wisdom, and goodness; for the order of Nature, apart from human intervention and contrivances for making the earth habitable, discloses no tincture of morality. We are thus reduced to the dilemma propounded by Hume, between an omnipotent Deity who cannot be benevolent because misery is permitted, and a benevolent Deity with limited powers; and Mill sums up the discussion, doubtfully, in favour of a Being with great but limited powers, whose motives cannot be satisfactorily fathomed by the human intellect.

This halting conclusion indicates a departure from the pure empiricism of his school, and even the inadequacy of the argument shows the effort that Mill was making towards some fellow-feeling with spiritual conceptions. As Mr. Stephen points out, there is a curious approximation, on some points, between Mill and his arch-enemy Mansel—between the conditioned and unconditioned philosophies. Both of them lay stress on the moral perplexities involved in arguing from the wasteful and relentless course of Nature to an estimate of the divine attributes. And both agree that the existence of evil is a serious difficulty ; though Mansel's solution, or evasion, of it is by insisting that the ways of the unconditioned are necessarily for the most part unknowable, while Mill leans to the possibility that God's power or intelligence may be incomplete. Upon either hypothesis we must confess that our knowledge is imperfect and very fallible. Mr. Stephen has no trouble in exposing the philosophical weakness of Mill's attitude ; but we are mainly concerned to compare it briefly with the position of his predecessors, for the purpose of continuing a rapid survey of the course and filiation of Utilitarian doctrines. When the orthodox Utilitarians definitely rejected all theology—though until Philip Beauchamp appeared, in 1822, they made no direct attack upon it—they believed that the fall of theology would also bring down religion, which they regarded as the source of motives that were fictitious, misleading, and profoundly unscientific. Mill agreed that a supernatural origin could not be ascribed to received maxims of morality without harming them, because to consecrate rules of conduct was to interdict free examination of them, and to paralyse their natural development in accordance with changes of circumstance. Looking back over the interminable controversies, and the successive variations in form and spirit that every great religion has undergone, this objection does not seem to us very formidable. But Mill's evident object was to reconcile the cultivation of religious feelings with his principle of free thought for individuals. In accepting Comte's ideal of a religion of humanity, he had entirely condemned Comte's reproduction of the spiritual authority in the shape of a philosophical priesthood. And it is remarkable, as indicating a radical discordance between the French and the English moralist, that while Comte's adoration, in his later years, of a woman led him to ordain a formal worship of the feminine representative of the Family, coupled with the strict seclusion of women from politics,

Mill's lifelong attachment greatly strengthened his ardour for the complete emancipation of the whole sex.

Our readers will bear in mind that we are endeavouring to measure the permanent influence of Utilitarian doctrines, to determine how far they have fixed the direction, and shaped the ends, of contemporary thought and political action. It cannot be said that these doctrines are now predominant in either of these two closely interacting departments. National instincts and prepossessions have lost none of their force; national character now divides neighbouring peoples more sharply, perhaps, than a hundred years ago. Militarism is stronger than ever; cosmopolitan philanthropy is overridden by the growth of national interests; political economy is overruled by political necessities; nor have ethical systems displaced the traditional religions. Empiricism has fallen into discredit as a narrow and inadequate philosophy; it is superseded in the spiritual world by transcendental interpretations of dogmas as metaphysical representations of underlying realities. Mr. Stephen's most instructive work draws to its close with a dissertation on Liberalism and Dogmatism, showing how and why Utilitarianism failed in convincing or converting Englishmen to a practical assent to its principles and modes of thought. Upon many minds they produced more repulsion than attraction. Maurice earnestly protested that we were to believe in God, not in a theory about God, though the distinction, as Mr. Stephen says, is vague; he appealed to the inner light, to the conscience of mankind; he went back into the slough of Intuitionism. Carlyle cried aloud against materialistic views and logical machinery; he denounced 'the great steam-engine, Utilitarianism'; he was for the able despot and hero-worship against grinding competition and government by discussion. In theology the mystical spirit rose again with its immemorial power of enchanting human imagination; the moral law is discerned to be the vesture of Divinity, in which He arrays Himself to become apprehensible by the finite intellect; and a Science that tries to understand everything explains nothing. Authority, instead of being discarded, is invoked to deliver men out of the great waters of spiritual and political anarchy. The Tractarians struck in with a fierce attack on Rationalism, propounding Faith and Revelation as imperative grounds of belief. You must accept the dogmas, not as useful, not as moral or reasonable, not even as derived intuitively, but as the necessary fundamental truths declared

by the infallible Church to be essential to salvation. Those who could not find infallibility in a State Church went over to Rome, abandoning the *Via Media*; others were content with the high sacramental position of Anglicanism; the moderate Rationalists took shelter with the Broad Church; a few retreated into the cloudy refuge of transcendental idealism. The two extreme parties, the Broad Church and the Sacerdotalists, were at bitter feud with each other; yet they both denounced the common enemy. Arnold 'agreed with Carlyle that the Liberals greatly overrate Bentham, and 'the political economists generally; the *summum bonum* of 'their science is not identical with human life . . . and the 'economical good is o'er, from the neglect of other points, 'a social evil.' Newman held that to allow the right of private judgement was to enter upon the path of scepticism; and the latest infidel device, he says, is to leave theology alone. He set up the argument, well-worn but always impressive, that science gives no certainty; and Mr. Stephen contends against it with the weapons of empiricism:—

'The scientific doctrines must lay down the base to which all other truth, so far as it is discoverable, must conform. The essential feature of contemporary thought was just this: that science was passing from purely physical questions to historical, ethical, and social problems. The dogmatist objects to private judgement or free thought on the ground that, as it gives no criterion, it cannot lead to certainty. His real danger was precisely that it leads irresistibly to certainty. The scientific method shows how such certainty as is possible must be obtained. The man of science advocates free inquiry precisely because it is the way to truth, and the only way, though a way which leads through many errors.'

Mr. Stephen is himself a large-minded Utilitarian. He will have nothing to do with a transcendental basis of morals; and the dogmatist who dislikes cross-examination is out of his court. Dogmatic authority, he says, stands only on its own assertions; and if you may not reason upon them, the inference is that on those points reason is against them. You may withdraw beyond this range by sublimating religion into a philosophy, but then it loses touch with terrestrial affairs, and has a very feeble control over the unruly affections of sinful men. Newman himself resorted to scientific methods in his theory of Development, that is, of the growth and evolution of doctrine. We may agree that these destructive arguments have much logical force, yet on the other hand such certitude as empiricism can provide brings little consolation to the multitude, who re-

quire some imperative command ; they look for a pillar of cloud or fire to go before them day and night, and a land of promise in the distance. Scientific exposition works slowly for the improvement of ethics, which to the average mind are rather weakened than strengthened by loosening their foundations ; and religious beliefs suffer from a similar constitutional delicacy. Conduct is not much fortified by being treated as a function of character and circumstance ; for in religion and morals ordinary humanity demands something impervious to reasoning, wherein lies the advantage of the intuitionist.

Mr. Stephen, however, is well aware that empirical certitude will not supply the place of religion. In his concluding pages he states, fairly and forcibly, the great problems by which men are still perplexed. Religion, as J. S. Mill felt, is a name for something far wider than the Utilitarian views embrace.

' Men will always require some religion, if religion corresponds not simply to their knowledge, but to the whole impression made upon feeling and thinking beings by the world in which they must live. The condition remains that the conception must conform to the facts ; our imagination and our desires must not be allowed to over-ride our experience, or our philosophy to construct the universe out of *a priori* guesses. . . . To find a religion which shall be compatible with all known truth, which shall satisfy the imagination and the emotions, and which shall discharge the functions hitherto assigned to the churches, is a problem for the future.'

The Utilitarian doctrines, in short, though propagated by leaders of high intellectual power, and inspired by a pure unselfish morality, achieved little success in the enterprise of providing new and firmer guidance and support to mankind in their troubles and perplexities. But they were not content to look down^{*} from serene heights upon the world, leaving the crowd

' Errare atque viam palantes querere vitiæ.'

They laboured devotedly to dispel ignorance and to advance knowledge ; they spared no pains to promote the material well-being of society. They helped to raise the wind that filled the sails of practical reform ; they headed the attack upon legal and administrative abuses ; they stirred up the national conscience against social injustice ; they proclaimed a lofty standard of moral obligation. They laid down principles that in the long run accord with human progress, yet in their hopes of rapidly modifying society by the application of those principles they were disappointed ; for

their systematic theories were blocked by facts, feelings, and misunderstandings which had not been taken into calculation. They were averse to coercion, as an evil in itself; but though they would have agreed with Mr. Bright's dictum that 'Force is no remedy,' they were latterly brought to perceive that in another sense there is no remedy except force, and that the vested interests and preconceptions of society make a stiff and prolonged opposition to enlightened persuasion. They were disposed to rely too confidently upon the spread of intelligence by general education for preparing the minds of people to accept and act upon doctrines that were logically demonstrable, and to reject what could not be proved. Mr. Stephen has somewhere written that to support a religion by force instead of by argument is to admit that argument condemns it. The proposition is too absolutely stated even for the domain of spiritual authority, since it might be replied that no great religion, certainly no organised Church, has existed by argument alone, and it has usually been supported by laws. But at any rate the temporal power subsists and operates by coercion, and the sphere of the State's direct action, instead of diminishing, as the earlier Utilitarians expected it to do, with the spread of education and intelligence, is perceptibly extending itself. The Utilitarians demurred to religion as an ultimate authority in morals, and substituted the plain unvarnished criterion of utility. Upon this ground the State steps in, replaces religious precept by positive law, and public morality is enforced by Acts of Parliament. They were for entrusting the people with full political power, to be exercised in vigilant restraint of the interference by Government with individual rights and conduct; the people have obtained the power, and are using it more and more to place their affairs and even their moral interests under the control of organised authority. We do not here question the expediency of the movement; we are simply registering the tendency.

There are few literary enterprises more arduous than the task of following and demarcating from the written record of a period the general course of political and philosophic movements. The tendencies are so various, the conditions which determine them are so complicated, that it is difficult to keep hold of the clue which guides and connects them. Mr. Leslie Stephen's 'History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century' took the broad ground that is denoted by its title; but, as he now tells us in his preface, he has found

it expedient to reduce his present work within less comprehensive limits, by confining it to 'an account of the compact and energetic school of the English Utilitarians.' This reduction of its scope has not, however, damaged the continuity of the narrative, since in the great departments of morals, religion, and political philosophy the Utilitarians were mainly the lineal heirs of the characteristic English writers in the preceding century. It is true that Mr. Stephen has not been able to bring within the compass of his three volumes the subject of general literature, especially of poetry and novels, which in the nineteenth century have given their vivid expression to the doubts and the hopes, to the aims and aspirations of the time. But we can see that such an enlargement of his plan would have rendered it unmanageable, and that Mr. Stephen may have wisely considered the example of Buckle's 'History of Civilisation in England,' which was projected on too large a scale, exhausted the author's strength, and remains unfinished. Mr. Stephen's present work fulfils its promise and completes its design. The Utilitarians are very fortunate in having found a historian whose vivacity of style, consummate literary knowledge, and masculine power of thought will have revived their declining reputations, and secured to them their proper place in the literature of the nineteenth century.

- ART. VI.—1. *A Word to the Wise; or, an Exhortation to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland.*** By GEORGE BERKELEY, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne. Dublin : Faulkner, 1752.
2. ***Maynooth College: its Centenary History.*** By the Most Rev. JOHN HEALY, D.D., Coadjutor-Bishop of Clonfert. Dublin : Browne & Nolan, 1895.
3. ***Journals, Conversations, and Essays relating to Ireland.*** By NASSAU WILLIAM SENIOR. 2 vols. London : Longmans, Green, & Co., 1868.
4. ***History of England in the Eighteenth Century.*** By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. 8 vols. London : Longmans, Green, & Co.
5. ***Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Management and Government of the College of Maynooth.*** Dublin : Alex. Thom, 1855.
6. ***L'Irlande, Sociale, Politique, et Religieuse.*** Par GUSTAVE DE BEAUMONT. 2 vols. Paris : Charles Gosselin, 1842.

CLERICAL influence has been, during recent years, and especially in Ireland, so much the watchword of rival camps, and the subject of such heated polemic, that it is desirable to approach the question of the training and work of the priesthood, free from the associations of old religious controversies and modern politics. We cannot, perhaps, get better counsel in such a matter than from the pages of Bishop Berkeley, who combined, in a singular degree, the subtlety of the metaphysician and the practical good sense of the man of the world. If he saw through and beyond the economic heresies of his time, he showed himself equally free from current prejudices, whether of class or of creed. A Protestant bishop, living in days of proscription and penal laws, he nevertheless saw that the Catholic clergy might become the regenerators of their unhappy country. In a letter entitled ‘*A Word to the Wise,*’ written in 1749, he thus appeals to the Catholic clergy :—

Be instant, in season and out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort. Make them thoroughly sensible of the sin and folly of sloth. Show your charity in clothing the naked and feeding the hungry, which you may do with the mere breath of your mouths. Give me leave to tell you that no set of men upon earth have it in their power to do good on easier terms, with more advantage to others, and less pains or loss to themselves. Your flocks are, of all others, most disposed to follow

directions, and of all others want them most, and, indeed, what do they not want?

If the abject and general penury which Berkeley goes on to describe in this publication has disappeared, the problem he attacked still awaits solution, whilst Ireland is yet among the most backward and poorest parts of Europe, and its rate of progress less than, possibly, any province of His Majesty's dominions. It remains to consider the appropriateness of Berkeley's remedy, especially under the altered political circumstances of Ireland.

When he wrote this exhortation the penal laws were in force. Catholics could not legally own property in land; as farmers, their tenure was uncertain and insecure; civil appointments and the legal and military professions were closed to them; and it might be argued with some reason (as indeed Berkeley himself anticipated) that it would be futile to preach industry when the natural fruits of industry were unattainable. The very persons, moreover, to whom this expostulation was addressed were at the time, by law denied education at home, and liable to penalties for seeking it abroad. To deny men 'the means of improving our 'nature' was, in Burke's opinion, 'the worst species of 'tyranny that the insolence and perverseness of mankind 'ever dared to exercise.' * Yet this was the common fate of priesthood and people in the middle of the last century. All this has been happily changed. Ireland was allowed the benefits of free education long before England; the majority of her clergy have been trained for over a century in an institution founded and largely subsidised by the State; the shackles on industry have been removed; so that there has been a fair field for the noble work recommended by the Bishop of Cloyne. The Catholic clergy of the Diocese of Dublin published an answer to his appeal, in which they assured him that they were 'determined to comply with 'every particular recommended in it to the utmost of their 'power.' Has this promise been fulfilled by themselves or their successors? The examination of this question will not be without interest.

Burke himself lived to see the first step taken to remedy the evil he denounced, by the establishment in 1795 of the College of Maynooth by the Irish Parliament, and its endowment with a public grant of 8,000*l.* a year. His correspondence shows his enthusiastic interest in the project,

* Letter to a Peer of Ireland.

and how heartily he coincided with Berkeley's views as to the civilising influence of an enlightened clergy. In a letter to Dr. Hussey, the first President of the new College, he declared that the welfare of Ireland essentially depended on its ecclesiastical seminaries; and to Lord Kenmare he expressed the hope that men in power would at last learn 'to consider the good order, decorum, virtue, and morality of every description of men among them, of more importance to religion and to the State than all the polemical matter which has been agitated among men, from the beginning of the world to this hour.*

We do not, unfortunately, possess a report of the proceedings of the Irish Parliament in 1795, and cannot, therefore, gauge precisely the reasons which induced a body, composed altogether of Protestants, to give their unanimous vote in favour of the establishment of a Roman Catholic seminary. It is, however, abundantly clear that the Beresfords, the Fitzgibbons, and the kind of men who had just brought about the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, were not likely to favour a project of educating priests at the public expense, merely out of sympathy with them for having lost the advantage of the Continental seminaries. The colleges at Paris, Douai, Louvain, and elsewhere, having been closed by the French Revolution, it is probable that the extreme ascendency party were determined that there should be no excuse for a revival of institutions where (it was feared) clerical students might imbibe the doctrines and policy of French Jacobinism. Maynooth would be under their eyes; its programme of instruction and methods of discipline would be in some degree under the control of State nominees, and the fear of losing the grant (they probably thought) would be a wholesome restraining influence on the governing body.

Whether, in the fear and haste of the moment, precisely the best plan was adopted for attaining a very desirable end, is, as we shall see, very open to question. For the time, no doubt, the gap was filled; without timely State assistance during the Continental wars and troublous times that followed, there would have been no means whatever of educating the clergy; and, in any event, education abroad never could have remained the permanent system. The

* 'Letter to a Peer of Ireland,' Burke's Works, vol. vi., p. 280; cf. Sheil's statement that 'it is at Maynooth that the great business of national reformation should commence' ('Sketches,' vol. ii. p. 242).

establishment of Maynooth, moreover, secured the enduring advantage of relieving a poor population from a serious tax on their resources; and the far more important result, from the point of view of the State, of furnishing a body of men who have been, in the main, zealous and efficient guardians of good order and morals. In realising, however, the large aims of Burke and Berkeley the best friends of the College can hardly claim for it conspicuous success. Looking back on the century that has passed, though the clergy may boast of having kept the people virtuous, they have done little or nothing in the way of making them energetic, well-informed, skilful, and industrious. It can no longer be said that those who practise these virtues are prevented from meeting their due reward; whilst those whose mission it is to preach them have vastly greater scope and opportunity now than in the last century. The national system of education, which is gradually becoming compulsory, has become strictly denominational in practice, and in the great majority of schools the Catholic priest is the manager. In most Irish cabins or farmhouses the only form of literature or source of information is the daily or weekly press; and if a few newspapers make it their business to oppose the influence of the priests, the rest make up for it in fervour of sentiment on the clerical side. We do not propose to touch on the vexed subject of the interference of priests in politics, except to say that the fact that a section of the press is devoted to opposing such influence is in itself a testimony to its existence. The rebuking and exhorting which, in Berkeley's day, were confined to the pulpit and the fireside, can now be extended to the schoolroom and the polling-booth.

Treating this power of the clergy as a fact, and not considering for the moment whether it is desirable or not, let us see how it has been exercised, and judge by the result of a century's working.

On some matters there can be no doubt, for there is general agreement. Taking the verdict, not of party politicians, but of the mass of observers, both travellers and resident, the mainspring of Irish poverty (apart from lack of native coal or iron) is either ignorance or indolence—using these terms to cover, on the one hand, lack of skill in arts and industry, and on the other, want of enterprise, assiduity, and perseverance. A third *causa causans*, intemperance, may be ranked apart, as causing a direct material loss which is perhaps measureable, and an indirect moral injury that is incalculable. Here is a triple field of work

for men who can speak with authority—where silence is almost equivalent to encouragement, where reproof, rebuke, exhortation, might work reformation. Clergymen need not be agricultural experts, or masters of the industrial arts, to enable them to show the advantage of technical knowledge and skill, and to give useful and encouraging suggestions. In this direction little or nothing has been done by the priests. It was reserved for a Protestant clergyman, the late Canon Bagot, to start the movement for scientific and improved methods of dairying and butter making; and the co-operative and agricultural organisation societies, which have taken up his work and greatly extended it, have been established and spread with little or no assistance from the Catholic clergy, who, if not openly opposed to this movement, have adopted a general attitude of suspicion and distrust. It is remarkable that the Dublin daily newspaper which specially voices the interests of the clergy, and is generally read by them, has for years denounced the Irish Agricultural Organisation and all its works. ‘Political ‘dodgery’ and ‘Plunkettian nonsense’ is some of the language used to describe the co-operative movement.* It is generally recognised that to the Report of the Recess Committee in 1896 is due the recent establishment and endowment of the Department of Agriculture and Industry; but out of twenty-three names on the list of that committee, there were only two Catholic clergymen—one a Jesuit, the other a Fellow of the Royal University who has never taken part in missionary work. Not a single Catholic bishop or parish priest took part in the deliberations of the Committee, and this was certainly not for want of invitation or opportunity.†

So with the attempts (in many districts highly successful) to establish cottage and home industries, such as lace-making, wood-carving, and embroidery. This has been the work of local residents and of zealous communities of nuns, as, for example, the convents at Youghal and Foxford. With few exceptions the clergy have taken no part in it.

We need not say much on the well-worn theme of indolence. Seldom or never is the pulpit used to preach the

* See letter addressed by Mr. Horace Plunkett to the ‘Freeman’s Journal,’ January 23, 1899.

† It is significant that when the Rev. T. A. Finlay, S.J., went to Maynooth a short time ago to expound the principles of the co-operative movement (of which he has long been a leader), his views met with strong opposition from the professors and others taking part in the discussion.

simple virtue of honest, strenuous labour, or to denounce idleness, lounging, and carelessness ; and private rebuke or exhortation is as rare, to judge by well-known facts and experience. The inefficiency of labour is, beyond all doubt, one of the causes which have induced employers to dispense with it, as far as possible, both in agriculture and industry. A feature almost peculiar to Ireland is the swarm of loafers, to be seen, at all seasons and in all weathers, at street corners, staring curiously at the passers-by—able, yet unwilling, to work.* Their characteristics were much the same in Bishop Berkeley's days as now. 'Ask them,' he states, 'why they do not labour to earn their own livelihood, 'they will tell you they want employment; offer to employ 'them and they shall refuse your offer; or if you get them 'to work one day you may be sure not to see them the 'next. I have known them decline the lightest labour, that 'of haymaking, having at the same time neither clothes for 'their backs nor food for their bellies.'

The Assistant Commissioners appointed under the recent Labour Commission did not fail to notice this class of idlers, but suggested no remedy except (to use the words of one of the commissioners, Mr. W. P. O'Brien), to leave them, 'as they themselves elect . . . to follow their own peculiar devices.' There is, perhaps, no remedy, except that which the authority and influence of the clergy can furnish. If they actively and systematically denounced this public profession of idleness, there is reason to hope that it would be shamed out of existence.

As to the evils resulting from excessive drinking—a material loss exceeding the whole agricultural rental of Ireland, and a moral and physical injury that is far more serious—the clergy in general have not exerted themselves as the evil demands. It is fair to acknowledge that where intemperance causes wrongdoing or crime, there is no lack of denunciation; but that intemperance which just falls

* Bishop Doyle cannot be accused of a wish to misrepresent his countrymen when in his Pastoral Letter on Tithes he thus addressed his flock : 'What are the sources of your evils? A disregard of yourselves, springing out of your own worthlessness, your own idleness, your own drunkenness, your own want of energy and industry, in improving your own condition. Your situation never can or will improve until increasing industry succeed to idleness, until obedience to the laws and self-respect become the character of the Irish people.' Appendix to Lords' Report on Tithes (1832), vol. ii., p. 52. Quoted by Nassau Senior. 'Journals,' etc., vol. i. p. 48.

short of drunkenness is all but let alone, and there has not been any organised attack on one great root of the evil—the undue multiplication of licensed houses. New licences are constantly granted, and old ones unnecessarily renewed, with seldom a word of protest from those who ought to be most alive to the fact that, in this matter essentially, prevention is better than cure. An occasional sermon against drunkenness as leading to sin and crime, periodical expostulations from assemblages of bishops in synod at Maynooth, have been proved to be ineffective, and do not meet the obligations of the case.* Laymen in this matter can do nothing, compared with the effect of personal rebuke and warning from the lips of the priest. Finally, the same observation can be made with regard to those habits of tidiness, cleanliness, and neatness in person and surroundings, which visitors find so much wanting in Irish homes.

It will be seen that the burden of our remarks is not a complaint of the undue influence of the clergy, but a regret that the immense power they have of doing good is not realised or acted on. We recognise to the full their virtuous life, their charity and devotion to the sick and poor, their pure and holy lives, the thoroughness of their work in their spiritual mission, to which must be attributed the high standard of morality and singular immunity from serious crime amongst the Irish people. As Cardinal Manning remarked of his own clergy, they confine themselves too much to the Sacristy, leaving the great works of charity, benevolence, and social improvement to laymen and persons not of their own religion.†

* As we write, the Lenten Pastoral Letters of the Catholic Bishops have appeared, containing the customary denunciation of drunkenness, 'the great crime of the Irish people . . . which presses like a nightmare upon us,' according to one bishop; 'the great evil, religious, moral, and social, of our people,' according to another. Similar language has been annually used in episcopal missives for the last quarter of a century; yet, as is now admitted, the evil is increasing. The fact is the bishops have not, as a rule, taken active practical steps to fight the evil, nor taken care that their clergy should so do; they have not made appeals or suggestions to licensing authorities; they have taken little or no trouble to promote changes in the law, and have systematically overlooked the evil of excessive drinking which falls short of drunkenness.

† Cardinal Manning's 'Life,' by Purcell, vol. ii. p. 781 and p. 783. The Cardinal's remarks as to exaggerated officialism might also have been written *verbatim* of the Irish Catholic clergy. 'But for this,' he says, 'we should not have had the hatred and contempt of sacerdo-

The truth seems to be that the early and traditional training of the priests in Ireland imbues them from the first with narrow and limited aims, outside their spiritual mission, which is the be-all and end-all of the present discipline and course of studies. They are not equipped and armed for the larger work of educational and social effort. No heed has been paid to the simple truth, propounded by Berkeley in his 'Querist,' 'Whether to comprehend the real interest of 'a people, and the means to procure it, doth not imply some 'fund of knowledge, historical, moral, and political, with a 'faculty of reason improved by learning?' Judged by the result, the Irish seminaries, headed by Maynooth, do not seem well fitted to develop these necessary qualities, the absence of which Cardinal Manning deplored in his own clergy. In an autobiographical note written in 1890 the Cardinal notes how much the priesthood in England was hampered in their power of doing good by not being *colto e civile*; and the best friends of the Irish clergy must admit that his observations are not less true in their regard.* The exceptions only prove the rule; and it will be generally found that where culture and refinement are at all conspicuous, their presence may be traced to student days passed in a college abroad, or a sympathetic spirit has chanced to absorb them from the civilising environment of some populous centre.

Whatever may be said as to the moral training at Maynooth (the success of which we fully admit), it cannot be said to have endowed its *alumni*, in general, with wide knowledge or love of literature, classical or modern, with studious tastes, well stored minds, precision of thought and language, or (excepting a narrow part of the field of politics) knowledge or interest in the movements of the time.

It is no libel to state that the library to be found in the great majority of priests' houses is limited to some Latin

talism. I am sorry to say that even good priests sometimes swagger; they think to magnify their office, but they belittle themselves. This has been the cause of endless trouble in workhouses and hospitals. Unfortunately even good priests are not always refined, and they resent any hindrance in the way of their sacred office, with want of self-control, which gains nothing, and often loses everything. The main contention is lost in a personal dispute. I have often said that our priests are always booted and spurred, like cavalry officers in time of war. But they will not fight worse for being chivalrous and courteous.'

* Cardinal Manning's 'Life,' by Purcell, vol. ii. p. 774.

works on theology, an ecclesiastical magazine or two, some volumes of sermons, or works on devotion and ritual, and the daily paper. Nor is there much in their daily surroundings likely to encourage studious habits or widen their interests. They have little social intercourse, except with their fellow-priests. The resident gentry are for the most part Protestant, and the clergy seldom, or never, are seen at their houses; not so much because of religious differences, as that there is a tacit understanding that their several views, aims, and habits of life have little in common. This artificial and exclusive training of the clergy, and, we may add, a laudable and natural sense of the dignity of their office, tend to prevent equality of intimacy with the bulk of their parishioners, whilst, for the reasons we have given (amongst others), they are out of touch with persons of greater leisure and cultivation.

In fact the Catholic clergy are fast becoming, to a great degree, a class apart. In former times, common persecution and peril formed a strong bond uniting pastor and flock, and if that bond has relaxed, it is perhaps due to the feeling that the help and sympathy of the clergy are not so urgently needed.

It should also be borne in mind that the secular clergy are almost entirely drawn from the class of tenant-farmers and small tradesmen. Petty, in his 'Political Anatomy of Ireland,' written in 1672, observes that 'the priests are chosen for the most part out of the old Irish gentry'; but nowadays, neither the survivors of that almost extinct class, nor the considerable body of well-to-do Catholics who have replaced that class, furnish any large number of clerical students, except to the religious orders, who take little part in missionary work. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at if a large body of those entering Maynooth, in the present backward state of secondary education in Ireland, are badly grounded in classics, science, and polite literature generally. The Jesuit order have practically the monopoly of the education of the upper and middle class Catholics in their efficient day-schools, and the well-known College at Clongowes Wood. It is remarkable that the secular clergy in Ireland have not founded or managed any school worthy to rank with Ushaw, in the county of Durham, which has had an honourable career of more than a century under the control of the English priesthood.

The fact is the training of the Irish clergy has not kept pace with the times, and with the general spread of lay

education. The working of the Intermediate Education Act 1878 may have deserved all the censures heaped upon it; but unquestionably the system has given an increased stimulus and an enlarged programme to the schools, besides enormously increasing the number of students who receive the elements of a liberal education.

In the meantime, the methods, standard, and programme of Maynooth remain much as they were a hundred years ago; the main difference being that now it has all but a monopoly of clerical education, and the professors are themselves Maynooth-trained. Whether as professor or missioner, the foreign-trained priest is almost an extinct species.* Such record and tradition as we possess seem to show that much was lost by the destruction of the Irish colleges in France, Italy and the Low Countries.

Mr. Lecky describes the type of priest, thus educated abroad, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, as bringing back 'a foreign culture and a foreign grace which ' did much to embellish Irish life,' and quotes the account of them by a contemporary, as 'mild, amiable, cultivated, ' learned, and polite, uniting the meek spirit of the Christian ' pastor to the winning gentleness of the polished man of ' the world.' †

There may not have been then that solid *esprit de corps* which now inspires Maynooth students, past and present, but at least competition had some play, and there was variety of type. Corporate spirit is of doubtful advantage when it does not stimulate to higher aims, and when, in the absence of criticism or rivalry, it proceeds from self-satisfaction.

Putting aside, as impracticable, a return to the plan of foreign seminaries, it remains to examine briefly the system of education at Maynooth ('the most important Catholic ' seminary in Christendom,' according to Cardinal Newman), and the result will, perhaps, give some explanation of the condition of things we have described. ‡ •

* According to the 'Irish Catholic Directory' for 1900, of the Irish priests ordained in 1899, some 160 in number, five came from the Irish College at Rome, and two from the Irish College at Paris.

† Lecky, 'History,' vol. vii. p. 122.

‡ Maynooth (according to Dr. Healy) has educated over 6,000 priests since its foundation. Of the 156 priests ordained in 1899, 120 were Maynooth students, the remaining thirty-six having been trained at Carlow, Waterford, and Thurles Diocesan Colleges. Of the fifteen from Thurles, nine were destined for Missions abroad. 'Irish Catholic Directory' for 1900.

It is not necessary for our purposes to examine in detail the origin and history of the College, upon which a mass of facts, dates, and documents will be found in Dr. Healy's 'Centenary History.'

It appears that the original proposal of the Catholic bishops was to have a college for each province; but this plan was not adopted by the Irish Government, perhaps because a single central institution would be more effectually supervised. The bishops had to take what was given them, and it was not to be expected that the Government would have regard to the decrees of the Council of Trent in the matter, directing seminaries to be established *in each diocese*, and allowing provincial seminaries, only where sufficient students could not be found in a single diocese. Local seminaries might not lend themselves so easily to State control; but, as we shall see, the drawbacks inherent to one central college were such that no Government supervision could effectually remove. The intention of the founders, acquiesced in by the bishops, that the instruction at the College should be open to both lay and clerical students, was not successfully carried out, and the lay college came to an end in 1817. From the first, the state-appointed trustees and visitors do not appear to have actively interfered in questions of discipline and management, and finally, in 1869, upon the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, Maynooth became independent both as to status and revenues; the previous annual charge of 26,000*l.* on the Consolidated Fund being exchanged for a capital sum of 370,000*l.* payable out of the Irish Church Fund.

The lay trustees, as well as the Government nominees, have disappeared from the Board of Management, and thus Maynooth has been, in all respects, stereotyped into a strictly ecclesiastical seminary. To produce men of stainless character and morals, of earnest faith, and skilled in the doctrine and rites of the Catholic Church, has been long the one great end of its discipline, teaching, and manner of life. Other ends of education, scholarship, culture, literary or scientific tastes, are not merely treated as subordinate; they are practically kept out of sight in the programme of instruction and course of studies. In 1895, when Dr. Healy wrote, the list of professors was as follows: four of theology; two of logic, metaphysics, and ethics; and one professor for each of the following subjects: Sacred Scripture and Hebrew, ecclesiastical history, mathematics and natural philosophy, rhetoric, modern languages,

English rhetoric, Irish, the organ and Gregorian Chant, and sacred eloquence and elocution.* In addition, the more advanced students of the Dunboyne establishment have a prefect for their own special direction and instruction, though they also attend the classes of some of the other professors. Thus for a body of students numbering six or seven hundred there is a teaching staff of only seventeen. Moreover, the duties of the great majority of the staff are purely professorial, the tutorial system of private help and instruction being practically non-existent.

If the student is not attending the lectures of a professor, which are given to large classes of some fifty or a hundred, he is left to private study in his room or in the common study-hall. It is obvious that such a system of instruction, with little personal suggestion and direction, cannot be adequate and efficient in such subjects as the classics, mathematics, science, and natural philosophy; and, if proof were needed, the long experience of the great universities is decisive on the point. With a strictly professorial system, and large classes, justice cannot be done to the more promising students, and there is an inevitable tendency for the standard of teaching to be lowered to the level of the most backward. The Report of Royal Commissioners in 1855 drew marked attention to this point as urgently needing reform, but their suggestions for improvement were vague.† Dr. Murray, in his evidence, suggested the abolition of the professorial system altogether, and the substitution of the tutorial, for the teaching of the classics. It appears that one of the purposes for which the Dunboyne

* Healy, p. 513. There appear to be some slight changes for 1900. There is an additional professor of Sacred Scripture and Oriental languages, and also a new professor of canon law, and lecturers are substituted for professors, in the subjects of sacred eloquence and elocution. Lectures on biology and physiology are also given by a layman, and an ex-Dunboyne student assists the professors of theology. It is to be noted that the Propaganda in Rome, in granting Maynooth power to give degrees in theology and philosophy, dwelt on the necessity of having separate professors for mathematics and natural science. 'Insuper, quod spectat ad disciplinas cursui philosophico adnexas, necessarium existimatur ut duo distincti professores habeantur, unus pro disciplinis mathematicis abstractis, atque unus saltem pro scientiis naturalibus tradendis.' The Rescript is dated May 1899, and degrees have since been granted; but the recommendation or condition has not been carried out. See 'Maynooth College Calendar,' 1900-1901, pp. 68, 111, 175.

† Royal Commission Report, pp. 53-55.

students were originally established and maintained was to supplement the professorial teaching by private instruction, and a programme was drawn up to this effect, but was quickly abandoned without any alternative provision being made.* In 1815, when the students were not half the present number, the authorities seem to have been alive to this deficiency, for in that year six lecturers were appointed to assist the professors, and (to use Dr. Healy's language) 'to bring the sluggards and dullards up to the average standard'; but after a year they were not reappointed. The historian of the College seems fully alive to the drawbacks of the present system, but he does not tell us why no substantial change has been made, and why the several attempts to amend it have been prematurely abandoned.

As to the list of professorships given above, the reader will make his own comment. There is no special chair for Latin, nor for Greek, the Professor of Rhetoric doing duty for both; there is no professor of either ancient or modern history; for all modern languages there is but one chair; and the immense field of mathematics and natural philosophy was taught in 1895 by one professor, and in 1899 apparently by none.

Whilst for the purpose of residence and discipline the students are separated into three main divisions, for purposes of instruction they are divided into seven classes, corresponding to the seven-year course. In the first class the Latin, Greek, and modern languages form the curriculum; in the second and third classes instruction is mainly devoted to logic, metaphysics, and natural philosophy; in the last four years to the various branches of theology and canon law. After leaving the class of rhetoric, no provision is made for continued instruction in Latin or Greek, and during the four years' course of theology, the *Ordo Scholarum* does not provide for the keeping up of any branch of study pursued in the junior classes, except the Celtic language.†

This deficiency was also noticed by the Royal Commissioners of 1855 in their Report, based on the evidence of the professors themselves.

Dr. Healy (as was to be expected from a sound and wide scholar) admits, to a great extent, the justice of the criticism

* Healy, 'History,' p. 493, and see also p. 233.

† Full particulars as to the course of lectures and daily routine will be found in Appendix xix. of the 'Centenary History,' p. 742. See also 'Maynooth College Calendar' (1900-1901), pp. 200-201.

of the Commissioners, but urges the lack of funds as an excuse for not appointing additional professors. Probably, however, some adjustment could be made which would secure the advantages of the tutorial system with little extra expense; and the arrangement of the Syllabus of Studies does not seem to be at all a question of finance. Moreover, the College authorities do not seem to have made serious effort to make their wants in these matters known to the Catholic public, who probably would have readily responded to such an appeal, as they have already done in regard to the building fund for the new church in the College grounds.

It is obvious that the course of studies we have described does not give either time or opportunity for acquiring an accurate and scholarly knowledge either of Greek or Latin, (not to speak of other subjects), if that knowledge has not been previously attained. It is very questionable whether that early training is any better now than in 1855, when Dr. Murray, Dr. Russell, and other members of the College staff deplored the defective preliminary education in the classics, English, and science exhibited at the entrance examination of students.

In spite of the Intermediate System (some persons would say, because of that system), it is to be feared that much of the work of the classical professor consists in teaching the rudiments of scholarship. Attendance at theological lectures in Latin is no substitute in this respect for the careful study of classical authors; yet, as we have seen, this work is broken off at the beginning, and is never resumed.*

The matter does not end there. If the training at the schools affects Maynooth, the Maynooth system reacts on the schools, the imperfections perpetuating themselves in a vicious circle. As the bishops themselves recognised in the Synod of 1875, it is from the selected and advanced students of Maynooth that ultimately are chosen the professors at Maynooth and the subordinate diocesan seminaries. Nevertheless, for the picked students of the Dunboyne establishment, who after the end of the ordinary college course pursue a course of higher studies, there is no entrance examination (success in the theological classes being the primary qualification); so that, as the Royal Commissioners stated, a student may enter that establishment, having entirely lost his previously acquired classical and scientific knowledge,

* Healy, p. 525; Report of Royal Commission of 1855, pp. 98, 113, 114, Appendix.

and (to use the words of the Report) 'we have reason to believe this is generally the case.'

Inasmuch as neither science, nor classics, nor history, form any part of the programme of the Dunboyne course, we can judge of the probabilities of such a system producing accomplished teachers, or a liberal-minded and cultivated higher clergy.* Though the curriculum for the Dunboyne students does not extend beyond theology, ecclesiastical history, Hebrew, and modern languages, it does not appear that there was any such limitation in the original gift of Lord Dunboyne, as he left his property to the trustees 'to be ' disposed of as they thought best for the benefit and use of ' the said College.'

It is not surprising, considering the facts we have stated, that the literary productions of the clergy have been generally mediocre; but what is more striking, considering the natural oratorical gifts of the Irish people, is the low standard of pulpit preaching. Alike in their public utterances and their writings one cannot fail to notice (apart from lack of depth or originality) a want of simplicity and method, a diffuseness and turgidity of phrase, which probably an inbred familiarity with classical models would have purged away.

In the field of national history and archæology, to which the Catholic clergy have specially devoted their attention, we may also note a want of discrimination in the use and citation of authorities, and a lack of perspective and of orderly method. In spite of their praiseworthy and patriotic efforts, it cannot be said that the work of the secular Catholic clergy in this department will bear comparison with the original and scholarly productions of such men as Petrie, Curry, O'Donovan, Wakeman, Stokes, Reeves, and Graves; and probably the historian of Maynooth (himself no mean

* Dr. Healy frankly recognises the evil. 'Whilst special training,' he states, 'is deemed necessary for successfully discharging the office of teacher, even in a primary school, no technical training of any kind is considered necessary to discharge the functions of a professor in our ecclesiastical seminaries. As a natural consequence the work is often indifferently done, and it usually happens also that when the professor by long experience has come to be a master of his art, he is then transferred to other duties. Seminaries governed on such principles can never become very successful. It is evident that some special training is necessary for the Maynooth students who are about to become professors in seminaries, especially in science and classics.' ('Centenary History,' p. 522.)

authority on the subject), would be the first to admit the truth of this observation.

Outside the field of Irish history, and the domain of theology and kindred subjects, the literary efforts of the *alumni* of Maynooth have hardly extended; and we confess to a feeling of sadness in comparing the results of the last century's literary endeavours (as described in Dr. Healy's pages) with the learning and scholarship of the Irish monks that were famed throughout Europe in the early centuries of the Church.

It will be seen that the substance of our case is, that the clergy fail to exercise legitimate influence in many directions where the results would be beneficial, and that in great part their inertness, or want of power for good, is to be attributed to a narrow and incomplete training. We are not referring to the case of acts or tendencies unmistakably criminal. In the early phases of the land movement, when Whiteboys and Hearts of Oak brought about direct injury to person and property, the clergy, as Sir George Cornewall Lewis has effectively shown, always denounced these secret societies and their methods. In stating this, we are far from denying, that in the later forms of agitation, where the subtle influence of boycotting has been substituted for personal outrage and terrorism, many of the clergy, if not openly approving of these methods, have been culpably lethargic in denouncing them. But the influence of the clergy in this matter must not be exaggerated. Timely words of rebuke, in the spirit of the Papal Rescript denouncing boycotting and the Plan of Campaign, might have sensibly diminished the use of these uncivilised and unchristian methods, but neither in its origin nor in its growth did the spread of the great agrarian movement depend upon clerical initiative and approval. The most that can be said is that if the clergy in their earlier years had imbibed less crude and one-sided views of the political and social history of their country; if they had learnt something more of the condition of other agrarian populations, and something of political economy, they might have done much in softening prejudices, and in importing moderation and a better temper into the movement. But the suggestion, often vaguely made, that extreme views on the land question have originated and spread mainly because of clerical leadership and support, is not, on the whole, well founded. This view, we consider, would be as erroneous as

to regard the figure-head of a vessel as the seat of its motive power.

A kindred opinion is prevalent (though not so openly expressed) that the presence of priests on platforms and at conventions is to be explained by their desire to seek favour with those upon whom they depend for support. Persons who hold this view will assert that a system of State endowment for the clergy would have changed the course of Irish politics, and, in particular, would have made the priesthood official guardians of the *status quo*, and silent or conservative on the agrarian question. The suggestion is that in political and social issues the desire to please their flocks, and to earn their gratitude and support, is the dominant motive with the clergy, and that if paid by the State, they would take little or no interest in these burning topics. Such was the view expressed by Nassau Senior, by Archbishop Whately, and by many eminent statesmen who from Pitt onwards have supported the principle of concurrent endowment. This theory, in its crudest form, is thus expressed in the words of Archbishop Whately : ‘A priest solely dependent on his ‘flock is in fact retained by them to give the sanction of ‘religion to the conduct, whatever it may be, which the ‘majority choose to adopt.’* Sir George Cornewall Lewis, in his well-known work on Irish Disturbances, written at a time when the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church seemed impossible, did not take this extreme view, but nevertheless he was a strong supporter of concurrent endowment, as an act of political justice, and as tending to make the clergy more independent.

What the precise effect of applying the ‘levelling-up’ principle would be must necessarily remain a matter of speculation ; but we may here give some reasons for holding that the advocates of that principle have not, perhaps, fully examined the working of the voluntary system in Ireland, and the exact relations between the Catholic clergy and their parishioners. A circumstance of all importance in this matter is often overlooked : that the first care of the Irish Catholic clergy is for the spiritual condition, the faith, and morals of their parishioners. There is no impartial observer but will admit this ; and the sufferings and sacrifices of the clergy in the past bear witness to the fact that, generally, material interests do not count in the balance, where this great end of their calling is to be obtained. Here, then, is

* Nassau Senior, ‘Journals and Conversations,’ vol. ii. p. 121.

sufficient motive for a desire to have the goodwill and sympathy of their flocks, without suggesting a cause based on worldly interests. It is equally true that the regard of the peasant for the priest is due to esteem for a sacred calling, not for individual merits ; to respect for his cloth, rather than his personality. Nothing else will account for the way in which for centuries, and through every vicissitude, a nation of poor peasants has supported the clergy, often at the expense of the necessities of life. This was done as freely in penal times, and under a bureaucratic Government, as when the franchise and the ballot gave the masses a voice in legislation. No theory of personal benefit will explain the voluntary exertions and contributions of clergy and laity towards building and rebuilding churches, during the last century. Moreover, although many behests of the moral law are extremely distasteful to the natural man, the clergy are in no way deterred from rigorously preaching them to those upon whom their livelihood depends. There would seem, indeed, *à priori*, some exaggeration in attributing purely material interests as a guiding motive for a celibate body, with few temptations to extravagance or luxury, who are forbidden to amass wealth, or to leave their savings to their kindred. On the whole, therefore, the theory that there is anything, in the voluntary system, in the nature of a purchase of worldly services does not explain, and is inconsistent with, well-established facts.

The history of the relations between the clergy and the laity bears out the view we are contending for. Whilst the voluntary system has been constant, the influence and interference of the clergy in worldly affairs has varied considerably. In the early days of Continental training they appear to have taken little part in political movements. Edmund Burke declared in 1792 that the Catholic clergy had at no time, within his observation, much influence over the people. The Rebellion came to a head in spite of them, and the conspicuous part played by a few priests on the side of the insurgents should not blind us to the fact (as testified by Cornwallis and others) that the vast majority were strongly opposed to violent and revolutionary methods.*

The Catholic Association was founded and organised by laymen, and the pages of Wyse, the historian of the Association, show that it was not until the time of O'Connell that the clergy appeared conspicuously in the political arena.

* See Lecky, 'History,' vol. vi. p. 481 ; Healy, pp. 239-241.

Even then, as Mr. Lecky points out, though O'Connell stimulated their action, and 'governed by their means, he 'was invariably the director of their policy.'*

So in the case of the Whiteboy, Ribbon, and Fenian movements, such success as these uprisings had, was in spite of the strong opposition of the clergy, who in like manner held aloof from the New Ireland movement of Davis and Smith O'Brien. In fact, the clergy have, on the whole, taken little part in furthering political movements, other than the agrarian agitation, and questions where their religion was concerned, such as emancipation and denominational education.

Upon the land question the great majority of those who aspire to the priesthood, being sons or relations of tenant-farmers, are, so to speak, born and bred with fixed opinions. Whether there was a voluntary system or not, a body of youths of one class, associating together for seven or eight years, receiving the training we have described, untravelled, and unversed in political economy, would inevitably have their early opinions and prejudices strengthened and confirmed. Launched into a country curacy after such training and associations, with no society except that of his brother-priests, a Maynooth student would not require the stimulus of a desire to retain his income undiminished, to make him adhere to his early opinions on the land question. It is most improbable, on the other hand, that a small pittance from Government would change his views. State endowment might have prevented some extravagant and incautious utterances, especially in high places; but the bulk of the clergy would have been still ready with support and sympathy for their friends and kinsmen.

We now see from experience that the founding of Maynooth, and its maintenance for seventy years out of State funds, did not change the native spirit of its staff or scholars. Is it any more likely that the experiment of a State pension would incline the clergy to side with landlords, against their own class?

It is remarkable, that in forecasting the effect of educating the Irish clergy at home instead of abroad Wolfe Tone diagnosed the probable result more accurately than either Burke, or Grattan, or Cornwallis. Tone foresaw that a college in Ireland would become strongly democratic and

* Leaders of Public Opinion, p. 303; Wyse, 'History of the Catholic Association,' vol. i. pp. 54-62.

national, and desired its establishment for that reason. Burke feared the contagion of the French extremists, and perhaps expected too much from political gratitude ; at any rate, another half-century of experience might have made him deplore the destruction of his conservative ideals, with Louvain and Salamanca.*

If it were necessary to pursue this subject further, foreign examples might be cited to show that a State endowment does little or nothing to diminish the strength of the bond between clergy and laity, and does not induce the priesthood to become Government partisans. Neither in Germany, nor Italy, nor France have the clergy been conspicuous supporters of Governments or their measures ; nor has the threat of curtailing or stopping of funds had any appreciable effect in changing their opinions or utterances. In Germany we have seen a State-paid clergy help to create and keep on foot the great parliamentary party of the Centre, whose first principle was the protection of their religious interests, and watchful independence of the Government.

Whilst we have thus far combated a commonly expressed opinion, that by making the Catholic clergy paid officials of the State, thorny Irish problems would have been solved, we do not shut our eyes to the fact that any such solution is practically impossible since the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church. Probably the intended recipients would not now accept a State subsidy under any conditions, certainly not under terms which involved appointment or veto by the State. The declarations of the Irish bishops against receiving payment from the State have been so unequivocal and so often made, that the matter is out of the sphere of practical politics.†

It is now more profitable to consider whether the drawbacks and deficiencies of the clerical educational system can be remedied by State aid. If we are right in concluding that the present *régime* is not only injurious to the clergy themselves, but is reflected in the habits, leanings, and mode of life of the whole population, reform would appear to be a national public service.

It was not worth while founding and maintaining an

* Lecky, 'History,' vol. vii. p. 121; Wolfe Tone, 'Memoirs,' vol. i. pp. 178, 195.

† See some of these declarations quoted in 'Letters and Writings of Cardinal Cullen,' edited by Dr. Moran, vol. iii. p. 85.

ecclesiastical seminary out of public funds if the public objects are not attained. The power for good of a cultured and instructed clergy is not less now than in the days of Camden and Pitt. Moreover, the arrangement made at the time of Disestablishment was in fact (however ingeniously cloaked) an endowment of Maynooth out of public funds. In spite of all the argumentative subtleties used in the 1869 debates, there is no doubt that a gift to Maynooth by the State out of the Irish Church property was in substance equivalent to a direct State endowment. Maynooth is publicly subsidised now precisely in the same way as the Irish Agricultural Department and the Intermediate Education Commissioners. All the considerations urged with such eloquence by Lord Macaulay and Archbishop Whately in 1845 have the same, if not greater, force at the present time. The principle has been admitted and acted on, and if, therefore, an increased staff of professors, provision for private tuition, libraries, scientific apparatus, and other instructional equipment, are necessary to make the educational course at Maynooth liberal and effective, no revival of the cry of religious endowment ought to prevent the use of public funds for the purpose. Probably nothing more is needed than a restoration of the financial position before 1869. By Mr. Gladstone's ingenious operations the income of Maynooth was thenceforth practically reduced by one-half, with the consent, strange to say, of the Irish members. If the income before Disestablishment—namely, 26,000*l.*—were assured to Maynooth, Parliament could exercise some general control in seeing that some of the deficiencies were removed.*

If, however, the claim of Catholics for a separate university of their own be admitted by Parliament, it may be that the best policy would be to make provision for the higher and more liberal education of the clergy (or some of them) in a separate college, or house of residence, attached to such a university. Apart from other obvious advantages, there would be the benefit of the friendly rivalry and companionship of lay students; and any plan must be welcome which would reduce Maynooth from its present unwieldy dimensions. Numbers may stimulate internal competition;

* There was considerable opposition to the abolition or reduction of the Maynooth grant in 1869; Sir Stafford Northcote described the transaction as 'pandering to the prejudices of the English Voluntaries, and a subserving of the interests of the Treasury.'

but where the result is absence of rival institutions outside, stagnation may follow, and a traditional spirit arise that is a bar, instead of a help, to progress. If the new system involved residence at the university for a certain number of years, as part of the clerical course, it would obviously react in the best way on Maynooth itself, and insure that students paid some continuous attention to classics and other subjects of an Arts course.

Nor does there seem anything in such a change that conflicts essentially with ecclesiastic requirements. We do not dwell on the fact that a certain number of Catholic clerical students are now in residence in Oxford and Cambridge, for it may be said that in England the circumstances are not the same; but in Germany and Austria a large number of candidates for the priesthood attend universities which are under State control, and of which the professors are appointed by the Minister of Education. At Bonn, for example, where there are some two hundred clerical students (as appears from a return recently presented to Parliament), 'the Catholic Theological Faculty is an integral part of the University; its members and students are bound by the constitution and rules of the University. . . . Every regular member of the Faculty is not only entitled but bound to take part in collegiate consultations and affairs.'* It is remarkable (as appears from the same return) that a State like Prussia, which is mainly Protestant, not only supports Catholic Theological Faculties in mixed universities, such as Bonn and Breslau, but also subsidises the Academy at Münster and the Lyceum at Braunsberg, which are practically entirely devoted to training candidates for the Catholic priesthood.†

* Reports from Her Majesty's Representatives abroad on Provision made for the University Education of Roman Catholics. 'Miscellaneous,' No. 2 (1900), pp. 28-30.

† According to the Parliamentary return we have previously referred to, there were over 1,300 students attending the Catholic theological faculties at the various universities in Germany in 1892-93, and in Austro-Hungary 1,529 students. It is remarkable that at Bonn and Tübingen there is a Protestant as well as a Catholic theological faculty, working side by side, apparently without hostility or friction. This university training may account for the fact that the Catholic clergy in Germany have amply shared in the general intellectual activity of their country during the last quarter of a century. A summary of the literary and scientific work of the German Catholic clergy will be found in the 'Dublin Review' for January 1901, sub. tit. 'Catholic Literature during the Nineteenth Century,' by the Rev. W. H. Kent, O.S.C.

Experience does not show that in Germany or Austria residence at a university makes clerical students less devoted to their faith or their duties; nor did the attitude of the clergy during the *régime* of the Falck Laws give evidence of subservience to worldly and material interests.

No doubt there* is a certain body of opinion in Germany which prefers a complete seminary course, to partial residence in a mixed university; but if ever a university is established in Ireland for Catholics, it will be, in practice, both as to teaching staff and students, a university of the type of Louvain rather than of Bonn or Breslau. We may quote on the point we are considering, the weighty testimony of Bishop Keppler, of Rottenberg, in speaking of the 'Konvikt,' or clerical house of residence at the University of Freiburg (Baden): 'Thank God for the good 'and noble men it sends the bishops. . . . Practical proof 'shows that the academical institutions of education [i.e. 'the universities] supply candidates for the priesthood in 'equal numbers and in equal degree of scientific, moral and 'ascetic training as the Tridentine Seminaries.'*

One at least of the Irish Catholic bishops is alive to this aspect of the case. Dr. O'Dwyer, of Limerick, in a recently published pamphlet, deplores that priests are 'cut off from 'all association during their earlier years with the students 'of secular knowledge, and kept strictly to their ecclesiastical colleges and their own professional studies,' contrasting with them Protestant clergymen, 'who have not been 'brought up in watertight compartments,' but 'with their 'characters broadened and strengthened by the free air of 'the universities in which they have been educated.' He urges also, what we have dwelt upon at some length, that the influence of the priest is a fact, and a probably enduring fact, which wise statesmanship should endeavour to turn to good account. The strong ties between the clergy and their flock will remain as long as they have the common bond of origin and class feeling; and whilst a Catholic population is devoted to their religion, and respects its ministers, it would seem to be sound policy to perfect and utilise the machinery at hand, and to spare no effort to give Ireland an enlightened and cultured priesthood.

* 'Tablet,' December 8, 1900, p. 885.

ART. VII.—Report of the Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland preserved at Welbeck Abbey. Vols. IV. and V. ('*Harley Letters and Papers*,' Vols. II. and III.) London : Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1897 and 1899.

In a previous number of this Review* the first two volumes of the Harley Papers which were collected from the manuscripts at Welbeck Abbey were described, and we were enabled from them to give some details of the earlier life of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford. His career was surveyed from his boyhood to August 1710, when, on the fall of Godolphin, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister. The first two volumes of these papers thus carried us to a momentous time. The general election of October 1710 completed the overthrow of the Whigs and correspondingly strengthened their opponents. A Tory and High Church Ministry with Harley as its chief and St. John as Secretary of State was established in power and met the new Parliament on November 25. On May 24 in the following year Harley was created Earl of Oxford, and a week later was appointed to the supreme office of Lord Treasurer. He attained this high position by industry and sagacity ; by a moderation of political opinion which placed him at the head of a Whig administration which was rapidly transformed into a complete Tory Government which, though its chief, Harley was incompetent to lead. That his capacity has been unduly depreciated there can be no doubt, but his qualities were those which make rather a successful administrator and a capable Parliamentarian than a responsible leader of a great party in troubled and eventful times. He lacked the breadth of view and the personal force, the foresight to plan and the determination to compel. He was a man of detail, and to some extent the successes of his earlier parliamentary life are attributable to this fact.

The year 1710 is, however, memorable for another event in Harley's life, one not only of political but of literary interest. In that year Swift left his house at Laracor to return to the centre of political affairs in London. Disappointed at his neglect by the Whigs, he arrived in England as the change of government was in process of completion. Full of personal vexation, and without attachment to the policy of the Whigs, it was not surprising that he

turned to those who were now in the ascendant. On October 4 he writes in the Journal to Stella : 'To-day I was brought privately to Mr. Harley, who received me with the greatest respect and kindness imaginable.' The gift of accurate perception of efficient non-Parliamentarian subordinates was a marked feature in Harley's character. He had the still rarer power of attaching them to him by a personal affection. For years De Foe's practical imagination and continual activity were placed wholly at Harley's service, his fertile brain continually evolving plans and suggestions political and financial. Swift's literary powers from 1710 were invaluable to him, and their friendship ended only with Harley's death. The accomplished Prior and the judicious Lewis were both trusted subordinates and friends. To retain the friendship of men such as these is sufficient evidence that there were traits in Harley's nature more admirable than were apparent to many of his contemporaries.

It is at this juncture, then, of public affairs, the main features of which have just been briefly noted, that the third volume of the Harley Papers commences. The correspondence in the preceding volumes, to which, however, it is necessary again to refer, ended in May 1711; that contained in the present volume begins in the following month. The ministry was firmly fixed in power, supported by a new House of Commons. The main object of their policy was to make peace with France and to strengthen the commercial position of England, though Harley had also to pose as the champion of the Church of England.

The third volume of the Harley Papers throws no new or strong light upon the political events of the period which it covers, and is less varied in interest than those which preceded it. Existing materials are amplified, and from time to time our knowledge of the persons who were prominent in the political world of the age of Anne is enlarged. It is important to have letters from St. John to Harley, and from this statesman to various other correspondents. In the collection of St. John's correspondence which was published by Gilbert Parke in 1798 not one to Harley is to be found, and of Harley's correspondence little remains. Whether this arises from accident or because he was anxious not to commit his views and wishes to paper more often than he could avoid it is impossible to say.

We have already referred to the personal and political intimacy between Harley and his assistants as they may be called, De Foe, Prior, and Swift; at the very beginning of

the volume we come upon further letters from another of those on whose intelligence and judgement he used to rely, John Drummond of Amsterdam. One thing this correspondence makes clearer than ever, that Harley's confidences were given rather to some trusted subordinates than to colleagues. It was characteristic of the man. To know and to influence public opinion was a marked feature of his political methods, and for this purpose capable underlings were essential. It may seem unfair perhaps to regard Swift as a person of this character, but when he placed his pen at Harley's disposal he put himself on the same level as any other subordinate. We see this characteristic of Harley just noted plainly shown in a sketch of him by Prince Eugene. It is difficult to understand how this could have come into Harley's possession, except through some underhand means, but it is probably only a *précis* of an overheard conversation. In it Prince Eugene says :

'The Earl of Oxford is an indefatigable man in business, of a lively and aspiring spirit, and manages the caballing parties with that dexterity that he keeps in with both. It was his good fortune to understand how to improve the indiscreet blunders of the late ministry to his own purpose, by using the Queen with all duty and respect imaginable, while they used her with contempt ; and, while he was concerned with the public affairs, asked nothing contrary to her pleasure and good liking, whereby he engrossed to himself all her favour and esteem, and by his smooth tongue and winning mien got so great an ascendant over her that he has her approbation of all that he does, so that he now steers the helm of state with as great sway as ever Richelieu or Mazarin did in France ; and to fix himself faster therein he has introduced persons (in a manner) subservient to him, some of low birth and small fortune, but good parts, and others of good birth and great fortune, but without experience, and of indifferent parts.' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 157.)

It was thus that we find Harley placing so much reliance upon the information of Drummond, a man of 'good parts,' but whose business at Amsterdam came to an untimely end. At the beginning of Harley's connection with him he passed as an important member of the commercial community of the wealthy Dutch city. In the present volume he becomes hopelessly bankrupt and a government agent at Utrecht.

Harley and St. John entirely dominated the councils of the new cabinet, and in the most open manner. These two and the Chancellor, Harcourt, who was probably present as a kind of legal adviser, used to meet in private, sometimes at what was known as the Saturday dinner. To this Swift was occasionally invited, as much for the sake of his good company as on account of his political capacity.

For Harley's fame it has been unfortunate that he should have had as colleague a man so unusual and so brilliant as Bolingbroke—one so much his opposite and so much more striking a personality. Yet in nearly every generation there have occurred similar instances of a close political alliance between men dissimilar in character, one of whom seems to serve as a foil for the meteoric brilliancy of the other; thus we couple the younger Pitt and Grenville, at a later period Canning and Liverpool. In the sketch of the leading politicians of England by Prince Eugene, to which we just now referred, there is to be found a portrait of St. John. 'Secretary St. John,' he says, '(the bulldog of the party) is of a bold and daring spirit, of an aspiring temper, of good parts enough, acquired by the advantage of being concerned in business more than his age allows of.' This description, while it brings out some features of St. John's character, is somewhat limited; it omits to mention his gifts as an orator and a writer, his mental versatility and his social gaiety. In every one of these respects he was the exact opposite of his chief—a halting speaker, a parliamentary archæologist, a collector, and not a maker, of books. Quite without political brilliancy, and guided by what he gathered to be the current public opinion, as a public man he was the exact antithesis of his colleague. In his domestic life he was as quiet and irreproachable as St. John was wild and wicked. Politically St. John was without principles or scruples, while Harley was a consistent politician with fixed ideas of political conduct, who had the misfortune for a party leader to be more moderate in his views than most of his followers, and to be in sympathy with the guiding opinions of his opponents. Both from temperament and from a singularly accurate perception of the feeling of the country gathered not a little from the information collected by trustworthy subordinates,* he was always endeavouring to steer a course which would obtain for him the support of the moderate men of both parties and of the great bulk of the people who desired to live in peace and prosperity. A Whig by birth, he was always anxious never to press the Dissenters too hardly.

* 'I have, since I have served [you], as you know, established a general correspondence, and at some charge maintained it, by which I have a fixed intelligence (I may say) all over Britain.' De Foe to Harley, September 2, 1710. (*Harley Papers*, vol. ii. p. 587.)

How difficult and often impossible such an ideal of political conduct was when reduced to action in such an age as that in which Harley chanced to live will presently be seen.

In the description of an interview with Pensionary Buys which Drummond sent to Harley on December 15, 1710, is very clearly stated what we may fairly take to be the new Prime Minister's policy, since, in speaking as Drummond describes himself as doing to the Dutch statesman, he was undoubtedly acting as Harley's mouthpiece :

'To all this,' says Drummond, 'a much finer harangue than I can repeat, I answered, "Sir, I entreat you will consider on what Lord Albemarle has told you, that the gentlemen now employed by the Queen were as hearty for the Revolution as any in England, that they are firm Protestants, that they are men uninterested, that they have good land estates to lose which they cannot remove, as some new acquired sums of money can be," that before Christmas old style he should be convinced that change of ministers had made no change of measures as to the common cause, unless it were in being more hearty and expeditious, more frugal of the nation's money, and more earnest for a speedy and reasonable peace; that I hope to be able soon to show him demonstrable proofs of their affection to this state and the carrying on of the common cause with more vigour than ever considering how long the war had lasted, and what a great share England had borne in the expense thereof. Therefore I hope, as your new Parliament is now sitting, you will soon send us over such hearty resolutions as shall rejoice the hearts of the people here, as shall convince them that the Queen has changed for the better, and as shall make ashamed all the disingenuous insinuators of mischief and villainy, who will fall into the traps they have prepared for others, and will be glad to shelter under the wings of those which they have upbraided and prosecuted.' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 639.)

By a large body of Englishmen who have always existed midway between ardent politicians of either party Harley's position, in spite of his office, was still regarded as neutral with satisfaction. John Chamberlayne, writing from Westminster in 1711, says :

'In the mean time I make bold to tell your Lordship how much I applaud her Majesty's wise choice of a first minister; but I should be no less foolish than bold if I should offer this as my own private thoughts; no, my lord, 'tis the opinion of all the philosophers and unprejudiced men (who are a sort of *squadron volante* without doors, and who *nullius jurant in verba magistri*), which I am now going to lay before your Lordship; and their opinion is that while the Earl of Oxford and our new Lord Treasurer holds the scales of the contending parties, he will produce harmony out of discord, and so long our Church and nation will be in a safe and flourishing condition; and as

this is their opinion, so is their prayer that the said Earl of Oxford may long hold the balance, and always have weight enough to make an equilibrium; and then he may be able to stop that party tide, even with his thumb, which has hitherto borne down all the ministers before it.' (*Harley Papers*, vol. iii. p. 697.)

Long ago Gay pointed a moral in his story of the hare with many friends, 'Her care was never to offend.' In public life such a purpose is impossible of fulfilment; it not only makes enemies, it causes friends to be lukewarm and suspicious. But in times such as those in which Harley rose to power, this idea which had such a mastery over him was certain to result in disaster. No two courses could more certainly lead to political destruction than to coquette with the Jacobites and to consult with the Whigs. From the very beginning of his official life he received the advice of Halifax, a Whig who had preceded him in office and who was destined to be one of the leaders of that administration which after the accession of George I. actually impeached him. Thus in 1711 we read this very confidential communication from Halifax, one among many :

'1711, December 6.—If I had been so happy to think of any expedient to prevent the straits we are falling into I would have offered my thoughts to your Lordship, being determined to serve you in everything consistent with my judgement and my honour, and since you seem to be desirous of it, I will rather offer at something, though it may be very wrong, than not act as a friend. You know best your own calculation, but according to mine there will be a majority in our House against the terms of peace offered by France. If that be so, why should Lord Treasurer struggle and labour that point? He has been willing to hearken to proposals of peace, he has communicated them to the Allies, invited them to meet and consider of the terms, gone hand in hand with Holland in the steps that have been made; if their Lordships think the nation in a condition to insist on higher demands, and that their resolutions will obtain them, he wishes it as much as anybody. If you thought it not improper to turn the debate in this manner, you would remove the difficulties from yourself, leave room for reasonable measures, and throw the blame of extravagant ones on others. I am sensible of the presumption and folly of this, but you have drawn it on yourself, and you will excuse the excess of my zeal to help you off in a difficult affair, and pray let my folly go no further, and burn this paper.' (*Harley Papers*, vol. iii. p. 125.)

But for the moment the impossibility of conciliating two factions which were violently opposed was not so obvious, because there was a definite practical object to be attained, in the accomplishing of which Harley had the support of the majority of the nation. This was the conclusion of

peace. Yet here, again, Harley was unfortunate. Neither by knowledge nor by disposition was he capable of guiding St. John. Not only as one of the Secretaries of State was the conduct of negotiations necessarily largely entrusted to him, but the importance and the conspicuousness of the task made it very congenial. For the time being it absorbed all St. John's powers. In his famous letter to Sir William Windham he says: 'The thread of the negotiations, which 'could not stand still a moment without going back, was in 'my hands.'

'I wrote Mr. Secretary St. John,' says Drummond to Harley on May 29, 1711, 'last post, a long account of the conference I had, and having read to the Pensionary some passages of Mr. St. John's letters to me, he asked me very earnestly, "Do you now never get any letters from Mr. Harley? Cannot you prevail on, or encourage, him to write plainly to you his own opinion of and thoughts of our present circumstances?"' My answer was that Mr. Secretary's sentiments were certainly the Queen's and Mr. Harley's, and that Mr. Harley had so much other business on his hands—viz. the whole care and management of the finances and the entire direction of the House of Commons—to go on in measures and consent to effectual methods for carrying on the common cause, and the long, expensive, and destructive war, that we may the sooner arrive at a so much longed-for peace. To this he replied, "I wish he would resolve to write plain, and I should give you plain answers." (Harley Papers, vol. ii. p. 691)

Yet before negotiations began, Harley had by a mere accident been personally and extraordinarily strengthened. He was the least sensational of men, but the attempt on his life by Guiscard in March 1711 gave him for the time an immense emotional popularity, of which a politician more alive to the value of popular support would not have been slow to avail himself. Addresses and letters of congratulation on his escape and his recovery from the wound poured in to him from all parts of the country, and to the influence arising from his mastery of parliamentary details was now added a personal sympathy, capable of being skilfully turned to political purposes. 'I hear,' writes one of Harley's daughters to her aunt Abigail Harley describing his reception by the House of Commons, 'the Speaker made a very fine speech, my father was received in a very extraordinary manner, there was not one in the House but what took occasion to make their compliments to him, and crowded about him. The House was very full. I hear the speech is to be printed.'* But a month afterwards Harley left

* Harley Papers, vol. ii. p. 680.

the Commons, of which he was an admirable leader, and where by moderation and by a rare chance he had now so unrivalled a position for a seat in the House of Lords where the absence of the greater qualities of a statesman lessened his political power. His conduct seems to imply a desire to obtain a dignity and an ease of life, rather than to gratify mere love of power. He shrewdly took advantage of his good fortune to secure for himself a high place in the peerage—a place which he probably foresaw he might not again be sure of attaining.

The main object of Harley's policy, as has already been pointed out, was to end the war. No one perceived the general desire of the English people * for peace with France, more and more feeling as they were the burdens and distresses of the never-ending European campaigns than Harley. No one saw more accurately than he that the High Church movement was one of those evanescent and striking expressions of popular feeling, the importance of which it is easy to overrate. All religious conflicts evoke passion in a high degree, and priestly enthusiasm can always raise some following. But that these movements are not necessarily lasting or deep the fleeting popularity of Sacheverell shows. To some extent the populace joined in the movement which this shallow priest fanned into flame, because it was the easiest and most ready means of showing their present discontent and their objection to the ministry which happened to be in power. To use a popular phrase, 'any stick is good enough to beat a dog with.' The mob which shouted for Sacheverell cared little that the Church of England should be 'pulchra, suavis, et decora.' Blinded by their desire for the supremacy of the Church, Atterbury and the divines who followed him imagined that the people were in favour of the divine right of kings, a doctrine which, as has been well said, was in itself a condemnation of the Revolution. The rapidity of the change of popular feeling on the death of the Queen shows how little real support the High

* This desire existed also in the army. In October 1711 Lord Orkney wrote :

'The news of what is transacting about peace in England is in everybody's mouth, and I am persuaded is heartily wished to succeed by most of the army of all nations, though I am convinced by some it is very much otherwise. I wish with all my heart your Lordship may succeed in all your endeavours . . .' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 95.)

Church men had in the country—a fact which no one perceived more clearly than the Lord Treasurer.

Subordinate to the main subject, but closely connected with it, was also the question of the improvement of the national finances, a matter essentially attractive to Harley, who had throughout his parliamentary career been a keen critic of financial extravagance. No one can read the many letters on this subject addressed to him by De Foe without at once realising the attention given to it by Harley, and in all probability the source whence many of the politician's schemes and criticisms originated. Peace at any price and by any means was therefore essential to Harley's political salvation.

Great Britain, however, was not fighting alone against France; by her side were the Dutch and her German allies, who, no doubt, had often been troublesome and expensive partners. Yet an alliance such as existed demanded of each member that negotiations should not be made behind the back of the others. In those of 1709, and again in those at Gertruydenberg in the summer of 1710, during the existence of the Whig ministry, the Grand Alliance had worked openly together. It may be admitted that the primary object for which the war of the Spanish succession had been begun had been attained, that the power of France was broken, that Holland was safe, and that the question of the crown of Spain had been solved. It may also be admitted that the exorbitant demands put forward by Great Britain's continental allies had prevented peace from being made in the past, and would be the chief obstacles in the future. It is easy to see, therefore, that if the making of peace at any price was the object—as it certainly was—of Harley's ministry, it could be without doubt secured by a separate negotiation with Louis, who was as anxious as Harley or St. John that the war should come to a speedy conclusion. It is equally obvious that if Great Britain and France came to terms the allies could scarcely continue the war by themselves: then, as in the Napoleonic wars, the English taxpayer was the German paymaster. But the weakness and the fault of the methods of Harley and St. John were that a separate and secret negotiation with France was unfair to the allies, and so was dishonourable, and it was unstatesmanlike because it necessarily weakened the position of Great Britain in the negotiations, and correspondingly strengthened Louis's hands. It would have been time enough to conclude a separate peace when England's allies

should refuse satisfactory and reasonable terms of peace from France. Yet from the very beginning of the Tory negotiations with France St. John was treating with Louis behind the back of the Dutch. On July 1, 1711—it is unnecessary to refer to the still earlier and less formal negotiations through the Abbé Gaultier—Prior was sent to Paris. In the preceding month Drummond, in an interview with the Dutchmen Vander Dussen and Buys, had spoken strongly of the determination of the English ministers to act in concert with the Dutch:

'I am extremely glad,' he writes to Harley in June 1711, 'to find that the Queen is resolved to establish a firm alliance with us, which is to last in time of peace as well as of this heavy war. This word of heavy war gave me an opportunity to acquaint him with that paragraph of your Lordship's letter, in which you are pleased to say that you are willing to enter into methods with the Grand Pensionary for the common good of both nations, and that you hope the States will not neglect another opportunity of a good peace, or if they do they will have no one to blame but themselves. He desired me to say over this twice to him, though he understands English very well, and answered, "Nothing can be so acceptable to me as to hear my Lord Treasurer's opinion of the present circumstances of affairs, and what can be thought on to bring them into a better posture I dare not by my office," said he, "write to a foreign minister without the communication of the States, which is composed of so many different men and humours, that we would have it in the Paris Gazette next week, it would become so public, or I would write to his Lordship immediately, and entreat the continuance of his correspondence and assistance at this nice juncture, and express my congratulation and joy for the deserved honour and trust bestowed on his Lordship by so good a queen to so useful and valuable a subject;" and charged me to make his compliments, I can assure your Lordship, with much heartiness and sincerity. . . .

'The Grand Pensionary charged me, once and again to acquaint you that you might depend upon it that no good or real opportunity should be lost of coming to a peace which, at this time, would be too great a blessing to neglect in any degree, but charged me to be secret, saying, "Be sure to merit the trust reposed in you by keeping sacredly secret these our inclinations to a speedy and reasonable peace, for if our enemy should discover our inclination they would certainly be very 'fier,' and stand upon such terms as perhaps it would be impracticable and impossible for us to accept of, besides that some of our allies, who have of late shown much self-interestedness, would make the best shifts for themselves, and leave the Queen and us to deal with the enemy the best we could." (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 8.)

On July 7 Drummond writes yet another letter, interesting as showing that he was still speaking mildly to the Dutch, who were clearly in a suspicious temper, in which he says:

' This State might now rest assured of a firm and lasting union and friendship with England while the Queen lived and your Lordship had so large a share in the management of affairs.' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 28.)

At this very moment, however, Prior was treating on the closest terms with Torcy ; he even had, before he returned, a personal interview with Louis himself. Of this mission we have now for the first time a description in Prior's own hand, and a statement of the words of the conversation with the French sovereign, though this, except in so far as it shows the friendly character of the negotiations, is rather a political curiosity than of historical value. From this paper the strong desire of the Tories and of the English ministry for peace is more than ever evident. Equally clear also is the wish of the Dutch to resume the thread of negotiations broken in the previous year ; but perhaps clearest of all is the single-handedness of the treating, confined wholly to England and France. It is pretty, obvious, too that Torcy and Prior had come to an agreement upon all points except that in regard to trade. Here is Prior's *résumé* of his last interview with the French minister :—

' 1711, July 21—August 1. Friday, nine at night.—Monsieur de Torcy gave me the answer to the memorial I brought hither. I read it over with him, and upon it I observed that it was only an answer to the former part of my memorial as to what related to the allies in general, but that there was not a word in answer to what concerned Great Britain in particular. He answered that all that matter must be settled and agreed in England, that as he had said before the gentleman whom the King had named to go back with me, was fully instructed and apprized of his Majesty's mind upon those heads, that he wished it could be adjusted here, but since I had no power to recede from those positive demands which the King could not agree to, there were but two things remaining—one to break off the negotiation, which he said his Majesty and he hoped we were unwilling to do, the other to try if there were a possibility of accommodating in what we desired as to our trade ; that this gentleman, whom he named Monsieur de Mesnager, would be at Fontainebleau on Monday to receive those orders which his Majesty had resolved on.' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 40.)

The result of this mission was the despatch of Mesnager to London and the signing on September 27 of preliminaries of peace, which were the beginnings of the open negotiations which ended in 1713 with the Treaty of Utrecht.

But during their course an episode occurred most characteristic of the manner of the ministry. In the beginning of May 1712 the chief point in dispute was as to the re-

nouncement of the rights of the King of Spain to the crown of France. On May 9 came a letter from Louis, undertaking to lay before his nephew 'two alternatives: either a 'public and immediate renouncement of his claim to be 'inserted in the treaty of peace, or else a transmigration, 'as Gaultier called it, to Tunis.' This letter was so favourably regarded by the ministry that St. John sent to Ormond—who had replaced Marlborough—one which contained the famous 'restraining orders.' In other words, Ormond was directed not to engage in any siege or battle till further orders. But he was to disguise the receipt of this command, and to find pretences for his conduct. At the same time information of the order was, it was also stated, sent to the Maréchal de Villars—a fact which, becoming known, aroused the indignation, not only of the allies, but of the Whigs and some Tories in England, producing acrimonious debates, which only the assurance of Harley that no separate peace would be made turned in favour of the administration.

It is difficult to understand the issue of directions so contrary not only to national honour, but to political expediency, since, to use a modern and rather well-worn phrase, 'peace with honour' was what the country desired. How distasteful it was even to the Tories cannot be better shown than by a letter from Ormond himself, which has also a personal interest, throwing as it does some light on Harley's character and absence of direct intervention in foreign affairs. For Ormond was not only commander of the British forces, but one of the leading and most influential men in the party of which Harley was now the nominal chief, and yet he was unable to extract from the Lord Treasurer a reply to his repeated despatches :—

' 1712, [May 25—] June 4, N.S. The Camp at Solesmes.—This is the fourth letter that I have done myself the honour to write to you without hearing from you, which I believe the multiplicity of business is the cause of.

' I send this to let you know that I have done all I could to keep secret and to disguise the orders that I received from her Majesty by Mr. Secretary St. John, but it is above ten days since I received the Queen's pleasure, and now I can't make any more excuses for delaying entering into action. When I was pressed to it, I made my Lord Strafford's sudden journey to England my excuse, and desired that I might hear from England before I undertook anything. I have been again pressed this day by two of the deputies in their masters' names to know if I would undertake anything in conjunction with them. I still made the same answer, that I had not heard from England, but expected letters every moment. This would not satisfy, nor could

I give any other answer, being, as you know, obliged to keep secret the orders I have received. I will not trouble you with more of this subject, for Mr. Secretary St. John's letter will inform you of all this matter.

'I am very impatient to hear when I may own what I am to do, for the situation that I now am in is very disagreeable, as may easily be believed.'* (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 176.)

The Treaty of Utrecht has often been severely criticised, and political faction took advantage of the country being again at peace to condemn it. Yet its conclusion was a great and substantial fulfilment of the policy of Harley and St. John, a policy from which St. John hoped to gain as much party advantage as national good. Certainly the manner in which from time to time—indeed from their beginning—the negotiations were carried on is open to censure. But nothing could gainsay the impressive fact that the war had been successful and that peace was restored. Great Britain was more powerful, her territories were increased, and her trade was enlarged. And this brings us at once to Harley's financial policy.

The South Sea scheme was the chief feature of his control of the Exchequer. It was based on private enterprise and supported by government assistance. First of all came the South Sea Act, 'for making up deficiencies and satisfying the public debt; and for erecting a corporation to carry out a trade in the South Seas; and for the encouragement of the fishery and for liberty to trade in immigration and to repeal the Acts for registering seamen.'

This legislation had two objects—the relief of the public credit and the enlarging of British commerce. There first resulted from it the 'company of merchants of Great Britain trading to the South Seas and the other parts of America,' of which Harley became governor, and St. John and Benson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were two of the original directors. It came into being on September 7, 1711. The company being formed, the financial scheme ensued, the floating debt of ten millions being assigned to the new corporation, with a guaranteed interest at the rate of six per cent. To the company was also granted a nominal monopoly of the trade in the South Seas—nominal because the English statute could only give an exclusive

* A copy of this letter was published among several others from Ormond in Hist. MSS. Commission, 11th Rep. App., part iii. p. 208.

right of trade to the company as against English subjects. Whether this was a sound financial scheme or not, the speculation which it created and the ruin which followed in 1720 were in no sense necessary sequels to Harley's plan. The speculation in which a few years hence high and low, politicians and the public, madly rushed, arose from one of those financial fevers from which from time to time England has suffered. In its inception the enterprise as against other English traders had a monopoly, and in India and North America two great monopolistic corporations were then achieving success. It looked for its immediate profit to a sure and undoubted source of revenue—the slave trade. No word at the beginning of the eighteenth century was better known among merchants than *assiento*, by which was understood the right to supply the Spanish colonies with negroes. By the preliminaries of peace signed in September, 1711, this right, hitherto enjoyed by the French, was to be granted exclusively to the English, and Louis relinquished a privilege which in those days was regarded as of the highest value. How closely, therefore, this company was associated with Harley's administration, how much the success of his chief financial scheme was involved with the success of his main political object, is obvious. No wonder that when Torcy told Prior that the article in regard to the Spanish trade 'was impossible to be granted,' he says :—

' My heart ached extremely, and I was ready to sink, but, recollecting myself, I thought it time to say that if this was to continue a maxim I was very sorry that my coming hither was of no effect, and that I looked upon myself as very unhappy, while I told him with the same plainness, *ouverture de cœur*, that he used to me that it was impossible that peace should be made on any other terms.' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 36.)

The loss of this treaty would have caused the failure of this plan ; the signing of the preliminaries assured its success.

But just as Harley years before adopted Cunningham's plan for a Land Bank, so now De Foe's fertile brain is apparent in this scheme. On July 17, 1711, a remarkable letter from De Foe to Harley clearly points to previous communications having taken place between the Lord Treasurer and his assistant. After a few words to the effect that he writes 'in pursuance of your Lordship's orders of putting my thoughts in writing on the subject of the trade to the South Seas,' there comes a careful memorandum.

' The present difficulty in the affair of the South Sea trade seems to

consist in the notion of what we call a Free-trade, and the dissatisfaction that some people are industrious to spread arise from the differing construction which people put upon the thing called a Free-trade, and the insuperable difficulties which seem to attend it.

'All our merchants know that the Spaniards (I mean by Spaniards the government of old Spain) in whatsoever circumstance considered, whether in peace or war, under Philip of Bourbon or Charles of Austria, will never be brought to consent to a general liberty of commerce with any colony or settlement the English may make on the coast of America.'

Then, after some further discussion of various points, De Foe concludes—

'I presume two great ends must be answered in the proposal:—

'(1st) Respecting the Government, that a debt of nine millions be at once satisfied and the Government eased of so great a demand.

'(2nd) That the creditors for that debt may receive some advantage above their 6 per cent. that may be so considerable as to raise their actions, and make them gainers by their subscription. . . .' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 50.)

In this communication the dangers which threatened the Company are clearly indicated—that though possessed of a monopoly in name it had not one in fact, and, as the quotation shows, towards its end the terms arranged between the Government and the Company are clearly and pointedly stated. But there is a yet earlier letter of July 11. After a commencement in the mendicant manner, thanking for pecuniary aid, De Foe proceeds to refer to the revenue and the 'new undertaking of the trade to the South Seas;' but the length of his remarks on the other subjects of this communication seems to have prevented him from entering on that day into details in regard to the South Sea scheme.

On July 23, however, he writes again. To the scheme contained in this letter for the planting of colonies in Chili it is unnecessary to refer. It is the commencement which is interesting, because the obvious inference is that for some years schemes for trading in the South Seas had not only been fermenting in De Foe's brain, but had been formulated on paper and submitted even to the late King:—

'The two papers I have already sent your Lordship were only the thoughts in general which, in obedience to your commands, I have reduced to form on the South Sea expedition. I here offer to your Lordship a scheme for the practice; I hope it may not be less acceptable to you for that it has been formerly proposed, since I can assure you no eye ever saw the draft except his late Majesty and the Earl of Portland, and the originals were always in my own hand, till my Lord Nottingham's fury forced me to burn them with other papers to keep

them out of his hands. They are here rough and indigested, but if you approve any of them in the gross I shall single it out to put in a dress more suitable for your service. Meantime I shall go on to lay the remaining schemes before you.' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 59.)

Reading these remarkable letters, noting that they occur before the preliminaries of peace were signed and before the Company began its work, remembering how much reliance Harley placed on De Foe's judgement, his own want of imagination and initiative, it is impossible to doubt that the author of the South Sea scheme was not only the drudging parliamentary statesman, but also the imaginative and persistent writer who has lived in the memories of his countrymen not as a politician or a financier, but as the author of the *Journal of the Great Plague* and of that romance which has still its many readers at the present day.

The head of the administration by which the commercial and the political results of the Treaty of Utrecht were obtained should have been by it placed in an impregnable position. On the contrary, the conclusion of the peace was the beginning of Harley's fall; he had reached the summit of his power after Guiscard's assault in 1711. Peace concluded left Harley and Bolingbroke face to face with the future. The cardinal object of their policy—in attaining which there had at least on one occasion been a serious dispute—which served as a bond was gone, and the field of domestic politics was left free for the most passionate conflicts. Harley was a moderate Whig by conviction and temperament, Bolingbroke was a Tory from ambition and policy. Thus, apart from their peculiar personal positions, a conflict between the two men was now inevitable. Again, Bolingbroke, abler, stronger, more ambitious than Harley, was serving under him—it was impossible for him to continue a subordinate. Yet Harley had attained the chief place; though not a man consumed by ambition, he still loved political business, he had a good deal of stubborn pride, and no man will willingly and quietly sink into the second place. A struggle for supremacy was therefore certain. Bolingbroke up to this time had no active personal dislike of Harley. 'I began, indeed, in my 'heart,' he says, speaking of the events of 1712 many years afterwards, 'to renounce the friendship which till that 'time I had preserved inviolable for Oxford.' But he had a contempt for him which grew to the bitterest detestation, and the Lord Treasurer had to make way. In each of the

following letters, written in 1713, there is visible impatience struggling with something of an attempt not to break into active hostility. But Harley, after the manner of a modern personage, might very well have said ‘J'y suis, j'y reste.’ He was not the man to make a brilliant defence of his position, neither was he one to retire without being pushed from his place. The first of these two letters is written on December 3, 1713, from Windsor Castle :—

‘I am sorry there is little show of government when the difficulties we have to struggle with require that all the powers of it should be exerted. I can truly say I am ready to contribute all the little in my sphere whenever your commands direct me. The only reason why I did not attend you this week was the belief that you intended to be here to-day, and therefore, pray my Lord, do not once entertain a thought that I give myself airs, or have the least lukewarmness. I see a man here every night that does the former with a witness. The pigmy stretches and struts, and fancies himself a giant.* I hope you will be satisfied when I see you that I have not been idle.’ (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 369.)

The next is from Whitehall, on December 17 :—

‘Though my head aches with writing all day, I cannot, however, leave my office till I have sent you the enclosed. I have given the Queen an account of their contents, and have taken that occasion to insinuate the danger of letting things run any further on in Ireland. I have expressed myself warmly but in general terms, and hope I have not done amiss. I see an opportunity of giving new strength, new spirit to your administration, and of cementing a firmer union between us, and between us and those who must support us. If you go to Windsor alone on Saturday, I'll talk to you on the subject. If I am wrong you will not lose much time in a coach on the road. Believe me for once, what I always am, and have been to you, sincere, however I may have been too warm and, your Lordship, allow the expression, too jealous.’ (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 373.)

The treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France was one of the first causes of difference. This engagement was based on Free Trade principles ; the eighth and ninth articles of the Treaty provided that English and French should enjoy the same commercial privileges as to duties and customs as the most favoured nation ; that the English should repeal all prohibitions of French goods which had been imposed since 1664, and that no French goods imported into England should pay higher duties than similar goods imported from any other European country ; on the other hand, the French were to repeal all prohibitions of English goods since 1664.

* Dartmouth.

This scheme was far too bold and farseeing, too far in advance of public opinion, to have been evolved by Harley. Bolingbroke, with his philosophic turn of mind, his large views, his cynical contempt for public opinion, was its originator. On June 18 the treaty was lost by a majority of nine votes. ‘The reason of the majority was,’ wrote Bolingbroke to Lord Strafford, ‘that there had been ‘during two or three days’ uncertainty an opinion spread ‘that the Lord Treasurer gave up the point.’ It is more probable that Harley, aware of the public and commercial dislike of the treaty, was secretly assisting its enemies. At that very time he was in close confidence with Halifax, ‘the founder of the financial system of the Revolution.’ It would be entirely in accord with Harley’s financial opinions to object to his masterful colleague’s advanced views and to have thwarted them by underhand means.*

But the difference between the aims of the Lord Treasurer and of the Secretary of State were so fundamental and so marked—the one a Whig, and the other a Tory—that agreement was impossible. It was inevitable that the weaker must be supplanted by the stronger. But politicians have to be got rid of by political means, and Bolingbroke in 1714 decided upon a measure agreeable to the most bigoted Tories by which to strengthen himself with his party. He introduced the Schism Bill in May 1714, which was to prevent schoolmasters from carrying on their occupation unless they had taken the sacrament. It was a blow aimed at the Dissenters, a measure highly gratifying to the High Churchmen and extreme Tories, but distinctly harmful to the welfare of the nation. It placed Harley in a dilemma. He had never sympathised with the Church movement, and he was sincerely anxious to promote peace and goodwill in England. The measure was one in

* The following letter, written on May 28 by Halifax to Harley, may refer to this subject, since the first debate on the Bill took place on May 14. On the other hand the letter closely follows some which refer to securing the Protestant succession :—

‘I should be wanting to the confidence and favour your Lordship showed me in your last letter, if I did not acquaint you that I have so far discoursed some of my friends as to be able to assure you that your Lordship may depend upon their being ready to concur with your Lordship, if you think fit to oppose the wild proceeding with which we are threatened. I am ready to attend your Lordship at St. James’s, or any where else you shall appoint, if you really think I can serve you, and desire I should.’ (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 292.)

the interest of a faction and not of the nation at large. De Foe, on whose opinions and information Harley relied so much, was strongly opposed to the bill. On May 21 he wrote a weighty letter to his patron.

'Last night's conversation could not but afford many useful remarks to me, and I thought it my duty to mention to your Lordship again my observations on that part of it which relates to the Dissenters.'

'First the Bill depending about the Dissenters' schools, which I fear will pass; it is true the conduct of the Dissenters has called for more than this, and this may remind them of a hint I gave them in "The Letter," whether they enjoyed no favours from her Majesty's bounty which they might not forfeit by their present behaviour. I doubt not but their pretended friends, the Whigs, will give them up in this, as they did in the Occasional Bill; and which is worse, they will give themselves up too, rather than not carry on their party mischief; I pity them, but I cannot but recommend the interest of posterity to your compassion. As to their academies, if there had never been any, I know not but their interest had been as good, and fewer beggars and drones had been bred up for ministers among them. But for the schools for common introduction of children, I think their loss will be irreparable. It is true that they will have schools still, they will be no more illegal than before, but it seems hard upon the nation in general to make laws which it will be necessary to break, like that of the late Abjuration Act in Scotland.' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 444.)

Halifax, with whom, as we have seen, in these later years, Harley had constantly taken counsel, evidently considered that the Bill gave the Lord Treasurer an opportunity of placing his country before party.

'The Land Tax,' he writes on May 29, 'and the Malt are passed, and the Bill of Schism is at the door; if I am any judge of opportunities, your enemies have thrown such a game into your hands as never happened to any man before, and is the peculiar happiness of my Lord Oxford. I beg you to make use of this conjuncture, which is most favourable, too, in other respects, to save your country. Allow me to wait upon you and explain my thoughts to you upon this occasion. If you will name the time when you will be at St. James's, I will attend you, and come disposed to join in any measures you shall direct, or prepared to offer such a scheme as may save this kingdom from distraction and ruin.' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 451.)

But though Harley's patriotism prevented him from actively consenting to the measure, his desire of retaining office and his naturally non-combative and uncommanding spirit would not permit him to oppose it as a statesman, as great spirits like Chatham or Fox would have done, or as, a few years later, Walpole opposed the Revenue Bill. He

followed the fatal and half-hearted course of not voting upon the second reading of the Bill. Such a step was a practical abdication of all authority as a chief. It placed the game in Bolingbroke's hands. There was needed only a little pressure on the Queen from Bolingbroke and a little assistance in the same direction from Lady Masham to complete Harley's downfall; on July 27 he was dismissed from the Queen's service.

'My good friend,' wrote Lady Masham to Swift on July 29, 'I own it looks unkind in me all this time not to thank you for your sincere kind letter, but I was resolved to stay till I could tell you the Queen had got so far the better of the dragon as to take her power out of his hands. He has been the most ungrateful man to her and to all his best friends that ever was born.'

'I cannot have so much time now to write all my mind because my dear mistress is not well; and I think I may lay her illness to the charge of the Treasurer, who for three weeks together was teasing and vexing her without intermission! And she could not get rid of him till Tuesday last.' (Swift's Works, x. 438.)

The Queen's ostensible reasons for the dismissal of Harley have more than once been printed, but it is well to repeat them. They were as personal as those which served for the fall of Godolphin:—

'He neglected all business; he was seldom to be understood; when he did explain himself she could not depend upon the truth of what he said; he never came to her at the time she appointed; he often came drunk; lastly, to crown all, he behaved himself toward her with bad manners, indecency, and disrespect.'

Harley, with a singular want of the sense of a statesman's responsibilities, himself told Swift that he had had no power since the previous July. But the blow having been struck, he suffered it with outward calm, announcing his fall to his sister with the same apparent absence of vexation as is shown in his letter to Swift. It may by some be regarded as affectation; it was real. For once fallen he made no attempt, as an ambitious man would have done, to rise. Equally real was his idea of duty, for in the heated, plotting political atmosphere of the age he had followed a consistent, if a somewhat low, standard of political conduct:—

'I hope,' he writes on July 29, 'my dearest sister was sufficiently prepared for what happened on Tuesday night, that there was no need of my writing by that post if it had been possible.'

'I came in with the expectation of the treatment I meet with. I thought it as much my duty then to come in as now to be out, and it

is my comfort I do go out with as much honour and innocence as I came in. Let me send you the following imitation :

‘To serve with love,
And shed your blood,
Approved is above ;
But here below,
Th’ example show,
It is fatal to be good.’

‘God preserve my dearest sister. Affectionate service to Sister Harley. I pray God bless all the little ones. Tell Miss Hyde to see how well she rides.’ (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 477.)

Nero fiddled when Rome was burning, and when most men would have been filled with the importance of the event which had just occurred Harley seemed chiefly interested in a childish rhyme. For, he says at the conclusion of his letter to Swift, ‘I send you an imitation of Dryden [composed] as I went to Kensington.’ They are the same jingling lines which he despatched to his sister.

Historians have told of Bolingbroke’s short triumph, and how, on the death of Anne on August 1, the supreme political power which he had hardly grasped fell from his hands. With the accession of the House of Hanover to the throne the Whigs returned to office for a generation, and Harley’s political career was permanently concluded. For a moment some kind of hope seemed to have arisen in his mind soon after the death of the Queen that his experience and the middle place which he had marked out for himself as a politician might enable him to be called back to office. The King’s ‘unacquaintedness and partial information’ would, he thought, prevent him from forming a stable administration : ‘neither party of the two denominations separately can form any such as is practicable :’ they have not credit enough, and so an ‘understanding’ must be found among ‘those who wish a settlement in England.’* Such are the ideas which passed through Harley’s mind ; but it was Dartmouth’s ‘healing hand which was to apply the remedy,’ in which, however, Harley certainly hoped to have a share. But the thought was a passing one ; quite another fate was to be his during the ensuing years.

On the death of Anne, Harley retired quietly to Brampton Castle, still retaining, however, an interest in the local elections. But in the spring of 1715 there began the famous proceedings against the leaders of the late Tory ministry.

* Dartmouth MSS. p. 321.

Bolingbroke, dreading the impeachment which had been commenced, fled in March to France. It was a public avowal of his intrigues with the Jacobites. Harley, answering an urgent appeal from his brother Edward to hasten after the event to London, says curtly: ‘The going away of Lord Bolingbroke is like his other practices. I thank God I was never in his secret, and for late years out of his way of converse, but only what was necessary.’* It was thought that Bolingbroke’s flight would sufficiently satisfy the enemies of the late Government, and that Harley would be left in peace. But it was not so; in June he was impeached, and in July was sent to the Tower. The first articles of impeachment contained charges which were no more than criticisms of policy, and were wholly without weight as a criminal indictment. In August, however, six further articles were added, one of which was in effect an accusation of high treason—it charged Harley with aiding the Pretender’s schemes. But this—the only point upon which criminal proceedings could be based—was unsupported by evidence, the proceedings collapsed, and in July, 1717, after two years of a tedious imprisonment, Harley was acquitted for want of appearance of the prosecution.

Whether Harley was guilty of treason is one of those points which can never be definitely settled. By that we mean, did Harley ever seriously conspire to bring back the Pretender? On the whole the weight of evidence seems to be in his favour. It may be admitted that from time to time he gave some vague encouragement to the son of James II.; that, however, is a wholly different matter from any definite design or conspiracy. This may not appear in these days honourable conduct, but we must regard every statesman in the light of his own day. Harley was the head of the Tory party, the left wing of which was composed of ardent Jacobites. Policy and temper both constrained him to stand well with all sections, not only of his party but of the people. The obvious way by which to satisfy the Tory extremists was to create an impression—to be kept as concealed from the general public as possible—that he was not wholly averse to the Pretender’s claims. That Harley ever did more than this there is no evidence at all. Not a little has been made of a statement by the Duke of Berwick that the Abbé Gaultier brought him definite propositions from Harley for the succession of the Pretender

* *Harley Papers*, vol. iii. p. 510

after the death of Anne. But nothing is clearer than that the memoirs of the Duke of Berwick must be scrutinised very closely before they are accepted as historical authority. Berwick begins his account thus : 'A la fin de 1710 l'Abbé Gaultier, dont la cour de France se servit pour traiter en secret de la paix avec l'Angleterre, vint me trouver à St. Germain de la part du Comte d'Oxford, nouvellement fait grand trésorier.'* Here, however, it has to be noted that Harley was not Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer until May 1711. There is, therefore, in the above passage a radical confusion which must throw suspicion on the whole narrative, which throughout has the appearance of a kind of vague summary written at some time long after the years of which it tells. Again, a little later, the narrative says :—

'Après ces préliminaires, nous entrâmes dans le détail des moyens de parvenir au but ; mais l'abbé ne put pour cette première fois entrer dans un grand détail, attendu que le trésorier ne lui avait pas encore bien expliqué ses intentions, que même préalablement à tout il fallait que la paix fût conclue ; sans quoi le ministère présent n'oseraient entamer une matière si délicate à ménager.'

But if nothing could be done until peace was concluded, one clause of which was the safeguarding of the Hanoverian succession and the carrying out of the Act of Settlement, it is pretty obvious that Harley never made any real proposals to the Duke of Berwick. He probably fooled Gaultier, who seems to have assumed a good deal, to the top of his bent. There are again inherent improbabilities in the story, for Harley was neither by temperament nor political inclination desirous of altering the Act of Settlement—anything in the nature of so dangerous a conspiracy was the last thing in the world which he would attempt.

When, too, he was in the Tower, he is said to have communicated with the Pretender. This rests on a passage in a letter from Harley himself among the Stuart papers, which Sir James Macintosh appears to have seen, but which has since disappeared.† Sir James Macintosh was not likely to have stated this fact without ground, though certainly nothing seems more improbable than the existence of such a letter. In the first place it is doubtful if a distinctly treason-

* Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick : Petitot Collection, vol. lxvi. p. 219.

† 'I looked in vain for the important letter of Lord Oxford in September, 1716, which was seen by Sir James Macintosh at Carlton House.' (Stanhope, History of England, vol. i. app. p. iii.)

able communication could have been despatched from the Tower, though Harley's confinement was not very strict. But his position at the moment was so powerless—he had no partisans to please, no office to retain—it was so essential for his safety at that time not to endanger his chance of liberty, that it is difficult to believe he would venture on so dangerous a course. At that very time also he was assuring his relatives of his innocence and of his honour. On April 13, 1716, he wrote to his brother Nathaniel at Aleppo :—

'The Tower.—I begin a letter to my dearest brother, though I do not know that my weak hand will obey my heart enough to write more than a very few lines. You may be sure I have received the frequent intelligence of your coming home with that joy that can only be conceived by those who love each other so entirely, that I know you will not be displeased to receive a few lines from me, even out of this place. I have been here since July 16, 1715, and desire only to come out with the same honour, the same innocence as I came in. I know I have served my country successfully and usefully, my Queen faithfully, and observed the laws religiously and strictly, to which I have not only the testimony of my own conscience, but the applause of nine parts in ten of the nation, so that I will not exchange my integrity and a prison for the mind and the power of some others.' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 521.)

Then on March 23, 1716, he says in a letter to his brother Edward :—

' . . . nothing is more notoriously known than my uniform conduct without trepidation in the two preceding reigns for the service of the present Royal Family ; and the success has satisfied all that I foretold them and their ministers. . . . I never had the least view in anything I did for the promoting the Protestant succession for my own private advantage ; my only motive was that I thought it was for the good of my country.' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 530.)

This, if written to any one but a near relative, would savour too much of the double-dealing of the time, for it is possible that had a Stuart been on the throne Harley would still have used the same language. When he writes to his wife, however, his words have a more genuine ring :—

' I have fully disposed my mind to be easy under my confinement, and as I look for no favour, so I shall do nothing towards my freedom, that may not become the character of an English gentleman, and I will go out of this place with the same honour and innocence as I came into it.' (May 5, 1716, Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 533.)

In such essentially private and confidential communications as this we may look for truth, and if we remember that at this moment Harley was manfully awaiting his trial, any

definite and direct communication from him to the Pretender is highly improbable. If such a letter were indeed written by Harley, the explanation of the act must certainly be that he wished, should the Pretender ever succeed in his schemes, to stand well with him. In the trial which was pending he would have to deny any kind of leaning to the Jacobite cause; to discount things said in the course of the proceedings it was necessary to make them appear to the Pretender as though they were spoken under pressure of adverse circumstances. Duplicity such as this cannot be defended; we have, however, to seek in it for the true position of the man. Assuming, then, that this letter was written, it was sent not with the intention of aiding the Pretender, but of assuring Harley's position in case of some improbable eventualities.

That throughout the period during which Harley was in office his inconsistent position as head of a Tory ministry forced him to keep up some kind of appearance of favouring the Pretender's claims there can be no doubt. But his real leaning was towards the Hanoverian succession—temperament, training, and political thought were in themselves sufficient to make him adverse to the Stuarts. If we are to believe De Foe, from the beginning to the end of his administration the Lord Treasurer was elaborately and successfully duping the Jacobites.* Thus his career was consistent, and he rightly believed that he had been honest; to deceive the Jacobites he regarded as a justifiable political manœuvre. We may condemn it as much as we like. In so doing we do not find Harley, as St. John certainly was, guilty of being a traitor.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century a statesman once fallen seldom rose again. Godolphin and Harley are marked instances of this. For from the day when Anne dismissed the last Lord Treasurer to Harley's death his active career as a politician was at an end. On two occasions only did he come again prominently into public notice. He opposed the Mutiny Bill in 1718, and the Peerage Bill in 1719. The object of that measure, one which would have

* 'That which was most wonderful in all this part was that the whole body of the Jacobites in Britain were capable of being imposed upon to such a degree; and that it was possible the Staff could use them as tools to such a length and not take one real step in their favour, as it is certain he never did; and yet they should be so stupid as that to the last four months or thereabouts, to believe him in their interest.' (*The Secret History of the White Staff*, part ii. p. 12.)

had constitutional and social results which those who proposed it little foresaw, was to prevent the increase of the existing number of English peers beyond six, to limit the duration of future peerages to the grantee and the heirs male of his body, and to replace the sixteen elective peers of Scotland by twenty-five hereditary noblemen. It was natural that Harley should oppose any such measure, for it was by the creation of twelve peers in 1711 after the dismissal of Marlborough that he had fortified his position in the House of Lords. Harley not only opposed the measure in the House of Lords, he took active steps to create opposition to it in the country, especially among the Scottish peers. ‘Nothing,’ wrote the Earl of Ruglen to Harley on April 4, 1719—and this is one communication only among many—‘has been omitted by me to do all that was possible in the affair of our great concern, and truly the lords that were here signing have done their part; all are extremely sensible of your zeal for the peerage and your country.’* Harley’s exertions had an effect in arousing public opinion against the Bill, though it was in the Commons and from Walpole that it received its *coup de grâce*. But the mixed character of the opposition to this measure caused Harley to write on May 16, 1719, with a mixture of good nature and bitterness:—

‘I know little how matters now stand, and many events may happen to alter them before we meet, but I congratulate the time being come that the wolf dwells with the lamb and the leopard lies down with the kid. These are very happy prognostics.’

Except on these occasions Harley did not emerge from the retirement in which he lived at Brampton or at Wimpole. In 1720, when the South Sea scheme engrossed the attention of the world—‘the town,’ wrote Lady Kinnoul to her father, ‘is quite mad about the South Sea, some losers, many great gainers, one can hear nothing else talked of’—attempts were made to induce him to come to London and save the situation.* The originator of the plan, many looked to him for assistance in the time of trouble. But speculation and avarice had carried men too far, as Harley shrewdly saw; he was unwilling to have his leisure disturbed by a useless intervention:—

‘I am much concerned for the public, but particularly if the misfortune has fallen upon any I have reason to wish well to; some are involved in it whether they will or no, others are infected by the

* *Harley Papers*, vol. iii. p. 582.

common contagion ; all have been sufficiently warned that the danger was near and inevitable, the sole hope they could venture upon was there would still be somebody more credulous than themselves, and, therefore, they should be able to shift off their rotten ware to some greater believer.

' To remind any one that they have been foretold of their danger without offering a remedy is upbraiding and useless. To say nothing therefore upon so common a subject of conversation may deserve the remarks you have mentioned, and to offer a remedy to a patient who can neither bear the disease nor the medicine is lost labour ; and in such a jumble ["medley" *written over*] of jarring interests, boundless avarice, necessitous clamours, enterprising quacks, it must and will create confusion, and it must be a head better than mine who can pretend to talk reasonably upon so perplexed a subject. (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 608.)

And so he continued amusing his leisure with country life and an occasional visit to London, with his books, his games of bowls, and adding to that library which is his most enduring monument. There are not a few letters from 1720 to 1724 referring to additions made by him to his father's great collection. Though far from the centre of political and literary life, he kept up some intercourse with his former political associates. Bromley, who had occupied the chair of the House of Commons during Harley's ministry, and was a stout Tory, not to say Jacobite, writes now and again a pessimistic letter. In 1723 he had been reading Burnet's 'History of his Own Time,' which did not tend to put him into a better frame of mind. 'Curiosity and indignation have carried me through this libel, this collection of vile low scandal.' *

Prior, too, in bad health, cast out of public affairs, and somewhat in want of money, found in Harley and his family sympathetic friends. •

' O dearest daughter of two dearest friends,
To thee my muse this little tale commends,'

are the lines with which he begins the moral tagged on to his elegiac tale in 1708 of 'The Turtle and the Sparrow,' addressing Harley's granddaughter, Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley, afterwards Duchess of Portland. Wimpole, where Lord Harley lived, was as much a home to him as his own Down Hall, and a good deal more cheerful. Thence he writes with undiminished vivacity to his old chief on December 23,

* Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 637.

1720, and after some good wishes for Harley's health he says—

'I have almost wintered here, and indeed have been detained for a month past by an indisposition that kept me within doors, which was the only trouble I found from the illness, for your son has treated me with kindness, which prevented my asking anything, and with a freedom which made me think I was in Duke Street, at Prior's own palace. I am going thither in three or four days, and shall not stir from thence till either you come towards Lincoln's Inn or Lord Harley to Dover Street, for I am frightened with the roaring of the South Sea, and tired with the madness of the people. I have stayed here long enough to see the popular folly of our neighbouring University, though I have not been there since I last had the honour to write to your Lordship, for where a man has not been kindly treated, he may easily become troublesome. . . . This is the world, my Lord, and the same tricks are played in courts and camps, universities and hospitals, and so men act and have acted, for the proof which your Lordship and your humble servant need not read much history. There are some exceptions to this rule, but I think I might name them all without writing to the bottom of the page; but I am tired with the thought, and will quit it for a pleasanter, which is that of telling you we are all in perfect good health. My Lord, Yours, Matthew.

'Postscript.—

'Fame counting thy books, my dear Harley, shall tell,
No man had so many, who knew them so well.'

Being a very laborious poet, I made these two verses in a morning in the library, and was never in my life better pleased with my own work than to hear little Mademoiselle Harley repeat them the next morning with the prettiest tone and manner imaginable. God bless that dear child, the excellent good woman her mother, and all of us, and keep us from the foul fiend! Once more, my Lord, adieu.' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 610.)

In less than a year—on September 18, 1721—this accomplished and versatile being died at Wimpole. 'His 'death,' wrote Lord Harley to Humphrey Wanley, 'is of 'great trouble to us all here, but I have this satisfaction, 'that nothing was wanting to preserve his life.'*

But De Foe, to whose restless energy and teeming imagination Harley had been so often indebted for invaluable information and practical suggestion, had dropped from the small circle of Harley's friends. The cessation of their intercourse was characteristic of both men. De Foe, with extraordinary readiness and plausibility, had always taken

* Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 625.

care to serve the statesman who was in the ascendant. Now he was Harley, now Godolphin, then Harley again, next the Whigs on the accession of George I. Harley having ceased to be in power was valueless as a paymaster to the pamphleteer. But the fallen statesman, good-natured, slow to exert himself, troubled no more about one for whom he had now no purpose, and was content with such friendship as came to him. For Harley in his retirement, though he retained the affection of his family and friends, retained also his old indolent way of not answering letters which he received. Swift's regard for him had not lessened with his lessened power. It has been suggested * that Harley, in obtaining only the Deanery of St. Patrick's for him in 1713 as a reward for his services, had shown ingratitude to his ablest literary assistant. He did the best he could, and Swift was grateful, if not satisfied. If he had considered that Harley had neglected his interests, had not endeavoured to give a due return for services received, Swift was the last man in the world to dissemble. But for friendly feeling and kindly raillery it would not be easy to match a letter which Harley received from him in 1723 :—

' November 6. Dublin.—Bussy Rabutin in his exile of twenty years writ every year a letter to the King, only to keep himself in memory, but never received an answer. This hath been my fortune, and yet I love you better than ever I did, and I believe you do not love me worse. I ever gave great allowance to the laziness of your temper in the article of writing letters, but I cannot pardon your forgetfulness in sending me your picture. If you were still a first minister, I would hardly excuse your promise of nine years; I will be revenged, I will put Lord Harley, nay I will put Lady Harriett, upon you. Mr. Minet hath sometimes made me uneasy with his accounts of your health; but he and the public papers being silent in that particular, I am in hopes it is established again. I am recovering mine by riding in hopes to get enough one summer to attend you at Brampton Castle, for I have a thousand things to say to you in relation to somewhat "quod et hunc in annum vivat et plures." Be so kind in two lines to invite me to your house. You asked me once when you governed Europe whether I was ashamed of your company; I ask you now whether you are ashamed of mine. It is vexatious that I, who never made court to you in your greatness, nor ask anything from you, should be now perpetually teasing for a letter and a picture. While you were Treasurer you never refused me when I solicited for others;

* 'Swift was vexed at the vacillation, at the strain which a return so much under his deserts had called for. The picture of timidity, shuffling, and ingratitude on the part of Oxford is not a pleasant one.' (Craik's 'Life of Swift,' p. 261.)

why in your retirement will you always refuse me when I solicit for myself? I want some friend like myself near you to put you out of your play. In my conscience I think that you who were the humblest of men in the height of power are grown proud by adversity, which I confess you have borne in such a manner that if there be any reason why a mortal should be proud, you have it all on your side. But I, who am one of those few who never flattered or deceived you, when you were in a station to be flattered and deceived, can allow no change of conduct with regard to myself, and I expect as good treatment from you as if you were still first minister. Pray, my Lord, forgive me this idle way of talk, which you know was always my talent, and yet I am very serious in it, and expect you will believe me, and write to me soon, and comply with everything I desire. It is destined that you should have great obligations to me, for who else knows how to deliver you down to posterity, though I leave you behind me? Therefore make your court and use me well, for I am to be bribed though you never were. I pray God preserve you and your illustrious family (for I hope that title is not confined to "Germanes"), and that you may live to save your country a second time.' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 636.)

In much the same terms, but in a more serious vein, Swift had written a year before. But he was not to see Harley again: the statesman, in one of his short visits to London, died at his house in Albemarle Street on May 21, 1724. His death brought another letter from Swift to the new earl, touching in the firmness of its friendship and interesting from what it tells of a literary enterprise contemplated by Swift but never executed:—

' 1724, July 9th. Dublin.—Although I had for two years past inured myself to expect the death of my Lord your father, from the frequent accounts I received of the bad condition of his health, yet the news of it struck me so sensibly that I had not spirit enough to condole with your Lordship as I ought to have done for so great a loss to the world and to yourself. It is true indeed, you no longer wanted his care and tenderness, nor his example to incite you to virtue, but his friendship and conversation you will ever want, because they are qualities so rare in the world, and in which he so much excelled all others. It hath pleased me in the midst of my grief to hear that he preserved the greatness and calmness and intrepidity of his mind to his last minutes, for it was fit that such a life should terminate with equal lustre to the whole progress of it.

' I must now beg leave to apply to your Lordship's justice. He was often pleased to promise me his picture, but his troubles, and sickness, and want of opportunity, and my absence prevented him. I do therefore humbly insist, that your Lordship will please to discharge what I almost look upon as a legacy.

' I would entreat another and much greater favour of your Lordship, that at your leisure hours you would please to inspect among

your father's papers whether there be any memorials that may be of use towards writing his life, which I have sometimes mentioned to him, and often thought on when I little expected to survive him. I have formerly gathered several hints, but want many materials, especially of his more early times, which might be easily supplied. And such a work most properly belongs to me, who loved and respected him above all men, and had the honour to know him better than any other of my level did.' (Harley Papers, vol. iii. p. 639.)

It is agreeable to leave Harley thus linked to the last with Swift. Their common esteem is the best testimony of their private worth. There was ever in Swift the constant heart and the independent spirit, in Harley the recognition of genius, of bold and invaluable service, and of appreciative friendship. It is much in Harley's favour that he bore the searching vision of Swift, and that the judgment of this keen observer was in his favour. Certainly Harley was not a great statesman, but he was courageous, patient, and persevering. He more resembles a Liberal of the first half of the nineteenth century than any of his contemporaries. He was a friend of civil and religious freedom: it is true he supported the Occasional Conformity Bill, but so did the Whig party, and the measure while it lasted did not prevent, as Harley probably foresaw, the Nonconformists from taking part in local government. He would not support the more harmful and intolerant Schism Bill, though he had not the courage to oppose it. Sprung from the landed gentry and a landowner himself, and thus understanding the wants and the wishes of the rural population, he was yet in sympathy with traders and merchants, and himself occupied the first place in the most important commercial corporation of the age. Throughout his political life he was earnestly in favour of peace, of national economy, and of financial purity. No enemy, however bitter, ever said a word against Harley's uprightness in regard to money matters, whether public or private. This was something to be proud of when public men could and did secretly enrich themselves at the cost of the nation. He happened to belong to an age when blame and praise were both meted out with exaggeration. Pope's laudation of Harley's philosophic tranquillity in 'the calm sunset of thy various 'day' is as much too lavish as Bolingbroke's depreciatory damnation is unjust.

'A soul supreme, in each hard instance try'd,
Above all pain, and passion, and all pride;
The rage of power, the blast of public breath,
The lust of lucre, and the dread of death.'

These fine lines—which we must remember were written as a dedication in an edition of Parnell's poems to the late Lord Treasurer and with a view of obtaining his interest in the publication—are hardly warranted in the case of a statesman with a body and mind wearied by toilsome and anxious political life, much of which had been of an extremely unheroic description, and who could be no longer of use to the country. With a love of books and literature, a happy family, abundant means, country tastes, a high position, a phlegmatic temperament, there was little virtue in enjoying an easy life among the pleasant country scenes of Herefordshire.

Had Harley lived in an age of higher political morality history might have accounted him a laborious and successful statesman, consistent in his conduct and moral in his methods. Living when he did, indefatigable industry and perseverance in a single career, fair abilities, some liking for business, remarkable tact, and an unusual gift for perceiving the drift of parliamentary and public opinion, with the assistance derived from the reputation of his family and from local position, enabled him to reach the highest political place. But a Whig by opinion and temperament, it was his misfortune to become the head of a Tory ministry; he lacked the strength of character and the intellectual power after the Treaty of Utrecht either to modify his ministry so as to bring it into harmony with his own opinions or to break away from it altogether. And yet, whether he intended it or not, at the very time and by action unfortunate for himself he was doing England a service. He prevented Bolingbroke and the Tories who would have acted with him from carrying out a policy which would probably have resulted either in the return of the Stuarts or in civil war. He so temporised with his colleagues and with the Pretender that these plans were deferred, and the Elector succeeded peacefully to the throne, and so, whether Harley clung to his place genuinely desirous to assist the Hanoverian succession or for the sake of temporary power, the result was the same. Not only did he find himself permanently excluded from office, but he became, as Bolingbroke said with bitter truth, 'the object of the derision of the Whigs and of the indignation of the Tories.' He intended—after his lights—to be patriotic and consistent, yet it has been his misfortune that history has dwelt more on his defects and on actions resulting from the manner of the age than on the sterling qualities which he certainly possessed and on the unobtrusive services which he rendered to his country.

ART. VIII.—1. *America's Working People.* By CHARLES B. SPAHR. London : Longmans, 1900.

2. *L'Ouvrier Américain.* Par E. LEVASSEUR, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France et au Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers. Paris : Librairie de la Société du Recueil Général des Lois et des Arrêts et du Journal du Palais, 1898.

3. *The American Workman*, being a translation of the above. By THOMAS S. ADAMS, Ph.D. Edited by THEODORE MARBURG, Baltimore. Johns Hopkins Press, 1900.

4. *American Engineering Competition.* The 'Times,' 1900.

5. *Bulletins of the Department of Labour.* Washington.

IT is somewhat strange that precisely at the period when the long political estrangement between the two great separated branches of the Anglo-Saxon race appears to be giving way to the realisation of fundamental kinship, there should be waking a sense of imminent and critical rivalry between them in the sphere of commerce and industry. That the fact is so there can be no doubt, or that while, across the Atlantic, the prospect of the struggle is contemplated with confidence and even exhilaration, here very many of the best informed regard it with serious misgivings. Figures bearing on the relative growth or decline of British and American exports and total production are, of course, available, and are eminently deserving of examination ; but it is not so much the study of statistics which have to be sought as the accumulation of facts which could not be ignored that has served to produce a somewhat widespread uneasiness. Thus, the benefit which the Great Eastern Railway Company found in placing a large order for rails and fish-plates in the United States might conceivably have some special explanation. But, when it was taken in connexion with the fact that an important, or even decisive, part was taken by the introduction of cheaper American wrought iron in pulling down the high prices of the British article in the Birmingham district last autumn, before there had been any appreciable reduction in the cost of fuel, which had raised them, no reasonable opportunity remained of evading the natural conclusion as to the existence of relatively advantageous conditions of iron-working in the States. And, if any doubt on that subject had survived, it would have received its *coup de grâce* from a consideration of the

fact that the great ship-building industry of the Clyde has of late drawn very large quantities of its material from American steel works. Passing from finished iron and steel to the industries engaged upon those products, there is—except, perhaps, under two or three heads—evidence that our English engineers have either been passed by their American competitors or are run so close by them that if at any moment they are not able to meet the demands of any particular market, new or old, those rivals step in and establish themselves with, it may be, very dangerous firmness.

We need not suppose, perhaps, that because a certain number of locomotives were ordered from the States a year or two ago by the Midland and Great Northern Railways there is much likelihood of a general substitution of engines of American for those of British make on our leading railways. That does not seem probable, especially in view of the fact that several of the most important of our railway companies have very fine plant for the supply of their own locomotives. But the fact that the great locomotive-making establishments of the States were able to meet an exigency, even if only temporary, on some of our great English systems, afforded at least very strong presumption that in markets where there was no natural preference their rivalry might become very serious indeed. A like remark applies to the success of American tenderers for the construction of the Atbara bridge, and more recently of those needed for the Uganda railway, and also, as is understood, of some required for railways in this country. In the case of electrical machinery—such as motors for tramcars, which are to a very large extent supplied from the United States—there were special circumstances, not inherent to the conditions of the engineering industry in this country which serve to account for the fact of England's being several years behind in this class of mechanical production. Yet, the great start thus obtained by our engineering rivals, though it may be explicable, is none the less to be regretted, for they are not people of a kind to whom for any reason a start can safely be conceded. In the case of the construction of machine tools there were no outside circumstances to account for the manner in which the American engineers are forging ahead, as is shown by the very large quantity of their singularly ingenious productions to be found in English engineering shops. Our boot and shoe manufacturing industries, we believe, make use to a large extent of

the results of American inventive resource multiplied by American engineers, as also do the more advanced of those engaged in the leather trade in this country. In several of the respects to which allusion has been made the striking development of American energy and fertility of device is far from being new. But its advance in not a few spheres has been almost a geometrical rate of progression; and when the whole field which it now covers in its various departments is realised even in the broadest fashion, the fact stands out that England's title as the workshop of the world is ceasing to possess anything like its former accuracy, if it is not even in danger of being lost altogether. Ten years ago it might truly have been said that without the English engineering trade the material civilisation of the world would be completely paralysed. Five years ago such an observation could be made, with some rhetoric indeed, but yet with a very considerable approach to the facts of the case. Now one is inclined to say that, with perhaps two or three important exceptions, and notably those of shipbuilding and the manufacture of textile machinery, the United States by a supreme effort could supply the gap in a year or two.

Into what other spheres of manufacturing production, besides those of which the materials are metals, this capture of primacy will extend it would be rash to conjecture. If there is any industry in regard to which England may be said throughout the past century to have dominated the world's markets not less completely than through the products of her engineering shops, it is that of cotton. We believe that that position of pre-eminence is still maintained in respect of the finer, better designed, and more or less highly finished forms of cotton products. The organisation of the great Lancashire houses, with a view to the consultation and even anticipation of the tastes of customers of every race, in every climate, and of every degree of civilisation, is singularly elaborate and effective. So are their arrangements, both individual and collective, for obtaining immediate information as to any circumstances affecting the markets with which they deal, and especially the intrusion or development there of any formidable competition. When these facts are borne in mind, together with the permanent advantage enjoyed by Lancashire in respect of the manipulation of cotton through the chronic humidity of her climate, those interested in her great industry may be tempted to cherish a feeling of proud security. And yet,

even in regard to cotton products, there are facts which seem to show that the growth of a serious rivalry in the West is not improbable. Within the last few years there are several distant markets, such as East Africa and Turkey, in which good stout cotton sheetings, 'drills,' and other similar goods of American make, particularly from the mills of the Southern States, have been asserting themselves in unmistakeable fashion as possible supplacers of similar fabrics from Lancashire looms. Not only so, but in Northern China and Manchuria, where we are so justly anxious that an 'open door' should be preserved for British commerce, cloths of the types we have mentioned from the United States, arriving through a door no wider open to theirs than to ours, are consumed, as we regret to learn on the best authority, in distinctly larger quantities than those of British manufacture. American printed calicoes, too, we understand, run ours pretty closely in the markets of the West Indies and Central America. It is believed, indeed, that this latter competition, which, if genuine and lasting, would be recognised as serious both in itself and in its implications, may not be permanently sustained, since, as is supposed, it represents the 'dumping' abroad at non-commercial prices of goods manufactured in excess of the requirements of the protected home market. That is very possibly true; and yet the consolatory inference may be precarious. For, on the one hand, the habit of buying from a particular quarter is almost as easily developed in communities as in individuals; and, on the other hand, American power of production at cheap paying rates has shown itself, in so many lines, capable of such immense extension, that it would be rash to assume that the cotton manufacturers of the Southern States or of New England may not discover means of so adjusting their processes as to make existing West Indian prices remunerative to them.

In the metal trades, as was pointed out by the author of the very interesting and able series of articles in the 'Times' last year, on 'American Engineering Competition,' the feeling of the great Transatlantic producers seems to be that it is commercially quite worth their while to nurse foreign markets by the supply of goods at no more than cost price, making up their profits out of the domestic consumer. The continuance of this policy depends, no doubt, on the persistence of the present subjection of American consumers as a class. That subjection, however, shows no signs of becoming less marked in the fiscal sphere,

while in that of commerce its steadily growing range and intensity can hardly fail to receive great enhancement from the working of the colossal 'combine' announced during the last few weeks as having been effected in the iron and steel trade. Its chief architect, Mr. Pierpont Morgan, is represented to have said that 'this concern alone will be able to supply the world, and, with certain economies to be introduced, it will be in a position to compete with foreign manufacturers in all markets.'

The question of the extent to which these gigantic anticipations will be realised is one of fascinating, almost of appalling interest, when one reflects on the immense amount of capital which is sunk and the great numbers of workmen who are employed in the iron and steel works of this country. A good deal of information bearing on the subject may be collected from papers mentioned at the head of this article—notably the series of 'Times' articles, to which reference has already been made, and a graphic description of the resources and methods of the Carnegie works contained in the special 'Works Management' number of the 'Engineering Magazine,' which was issued in January last, and which, in many of its features, is well deserving of careful perusal by all persons interested in the comparative prospects of the metal industries in Great Britain and the United States. It is not within our present purpose, however, to enter upon any general discussion of the probable developments of American competition, but only to consider some aspects of that subject as involved in and illustrated by a partial comparison of the working people of the two countries.

If the attention of any student had been first attracted to the differences between industrial conditions in Great Britain and the United States by recent discussions of their commercial and manufacturing rivalry, he would undoubtedly have derived the impression that the whole attitude and outlook of the average American workman diverged radically from that of his British rival. Repeatedly we are told that, whereas the British workman, in willing or unwilling deference not indeed to written or printed laws of his union, but to its well-understood policy, steadily stints his work within the limit of the amount which he could easily accomplish without any danger to his health, and particularly applies himself to minimising the production of any machine-tools on which he may be engaged, the American workman is actuated by a totally different temper.

No union rules, we are told, if rules to such an effect exist, avail in the least to check the zeal and energy with which he throws himself into his job. There is hardly any difference of opinion on this point. Opinions vary, within certain limits, as to the causes of a contrast so remarkable, and as to the possibility of producing any approach here to the moral and economic standards described as current among the American working men. But as to the fact of the difference within a certain range there is little, if any, disagreement.

Yet, on the other hand, the most superficial review of the course of industrial events occurring in the United States during the last fifteen or twenty years cannot fail to show that disputes between capital and labour have been quite as varied, quite as bitter, and quite as costly to both sides as any which have taken place in this country, and that they have been much more frequently marked with disorder and bloodshed. M. Levasseur, in his monumental '*L'Ouvrier Américain*', goes over the dreary story with considerable detail, and comes to the sufficiently melancholy conclusion that while

'la grève est un mal comme la guerre . . . dans l'état actuel de la société, avec ses intérêts individuels et ses passions humaines, on peut dire qu'elle ne cessera pas ; il semble même qu'il y est, pour un certain temps au moins, plus de probabilité de voir ce mal s'étendre que de se réduire.' '*La classe ouvrière*,' the learned author proceeds, 'est devenue une puissance, surtout dans les gouvernements démocratiques comme les Etats-Unis. On ne saurait lui dénier un droit ; c'est assez de veiller à ce qu'elle n'empêtre pas par des priviléges sur le reste de la société. Elle est plus fortement organisée en associations qu'elle ne l'était naguère, et le nombre comme la force de ces sociétés ira vraisemblablement en augmentant. Elle est assez éclairée par les faits pour savoir que, si la grève coûte cher, il y a des cas où elle réussit, et, comme tous les joueurs, au moment où elle s'engage dans la lutte elle croit à sa chance.'

And well might the American workman be inclined to trust his luck when even the official statistics presented him, as M. Levasseur wrote, with 45 chances in the 100 of success in his strikes as compared with 20 to 25 in France and England ; while Mr. Gompers, a well-known labour leader, felt himself justified in stating in 1890 that, of 1,163 strikes authorised by the American Federation of Labour in the previous twelve months, 989 had succeeded, 98 had issued in a compromise, and only 76 had been real failures.

No mistake, therefore, could be greater than to look upon American working men as being in any sense 'masters'

'men,' or to suppose that they are in any way less inclined than their kinsmen in this country to do industrial battle in vindication of what they conceive to be the rightful claims of manual labour. Of this, each year that passes affords ample evidence, and the year 1900 certainly not less than any other. We refer in particular to the remarkably successful strike of the coal-miners in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, and to the compromise settlement which was reached, after little actual stoppage of work, of a dispute in the engineering trade, which raised issues of the most important character. One of the most interesting chapters in Mr. Charles B. Spahr's book—'America's Working-People,' a book which, if somewhat slight and sketchy in structure, is remarkably candid and full of intelligent observation and suggestion—deals with the coal-miners of Pennsylvania. When he visited the district in question—he is not always as careful as might be desired to mention dates, but probably it was in 1899—coal-mining was in a very depressed condition, largely owing, as it appeared, to unreasonable railway rates. On this topic we need not dwell; but it is instructive to notice in passing that the coal-owners who suffered from the excessive charges considered that it was quite 'useless to appeal to the Inter-State Commerce Commission or to the Legislature,' and that the only way to get reasonable rates, for those coal-owners who were not also railroad-owners, was to build a new railway for themselves. The railroad-owners who were also coal-owners naturally did not admit the justice of the criticisms passed upon their rates by the 'independent operators,' and said that the depression was due to there being too many competing mines. Whatever the cause, the mines had been exceedingly slack, and, though at the time of Mr. Spahr's visit there was some improvement, he was satisfied that for a long time previously they had barely been working three days a week. The mining town called Harwood, which he visited, was mainly inhabited by workmen of Hungarian extraction, and was full of recollections of a strike some years before, which issued in rioting and a good deal of bloodshed and failed to secure its main object—the removal of the 'company store system.' This was little, if at all, better than the 'truck' system with us, once a great grievance in our mining districts, but suppressed long ago by Parliament. For, although the head of the company was believed to be quite honest in his statement to the men that they could trade where they liked, the joint effect of

the system of payment under which wages were always a fortnight in arrears, and of the action of the under-officers of the colliery, was to place the miners under a virtual constraint to get their supplies from the company's store. Altogether Mr. Spahr appears to have adopted the view of one of his informants, that, although the condition of the Hungarian miners was distinctly better than some fifteen years previously, still Harwood was 'not a free town.' No one, in fact, can read his account, which seems to us written in a very fair spirit, of what he there saw and heard without contrasting the state of things so depicted with the liberty and general well-being of a Northumbrian or Yorkshire colliery village. And few things would have seemed less likely than that these Hungarian miners should be brought within a year or two, by the co-operation of a trade-union stretching over the principal mining areas of the United States, into a position of industrial independence hardly less complete than that enjoyed by the constituents of Mr. Burt or Mr. Pickard.

Such, however, appears to have been the fact. Notwithstanding the extremely heterogeneous character of the population of the anthracite districts, many thousands of whom could not speak the English language, and the fact that until last autumn, out of over 140,000 mining workers employed in the mines of that region, less than 8,000 were, in trade-union phrase, 'members in good standing' of the 'United Mine-workers of America,' a general movement for the improvement of their conditions of labour was carried to a successful issue under the auspices of that organisation. The railroad companies, who, as has been mentioned, own a very large part of the anthracite coal mines, having refused to enter into negotiations with the chief officials of the United Mine-workers, or to submit the questions at issue to arbitration, a strike was authorised over the anthracite region. It lasted little more than six weeks, from the middle of September to nearly the end of October, and it was concluded by an agreement on the part of most of the companies concerned that the mine-workers should receive an advance of 10 per cent. in their rates of wages until April 1, 1901, that a fortnightly pay should be secured to all of them, and that other changes should be made improving the conditions of work. Among these the most important were the privileges of placing check weighmen and 'check-docking bosses' in positions in which they could exercise an effective influence. It does not appear whether the company-store system was

expressly abolished, but there can be no doubt that the specific changes just enumerated, and the recognition of the Union involved on the part of the coal-owners in making them, amounted together to a very decided amelioration in the whole position of the anthracite mining industry. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the local membership of the United Mine-workers bounded upward from under 8,000 to more than 100,000.

We take these facts from the report in the 'United 'Mine-workers' Journal' of the address delivered by its President, Mr. John Mitchell, at the opening of the annual session of the Congress of that body, and it is pleasant to notice that the tone of that address was remarkably free from anything savouring of violence. So far as we are able to judge, the course of events in the United States mining districts bears witness to the presence and activity of a spirit in organised labour worthy of comparison with the best which has ever inspired trade-union action in this country. The attitude taken up by the President of the United Mine-workers in regard to the rapidly spreading adoption of coal-cutting machines, which, so far as they are used, dispense with skilled labour, while not sympathetic, could not be described as reactionary. 'If,' he said, 'machine-mining is 'to be the system by which coal is to be produced in the 'future, and if the cost of production is thereby lessened, 'labour is entitled to and should receive a reasonable 'portion of the financial advantages ;' and he advised his colleagues to give the matter their earnest attention, with a view, if possible, to some modification of their next agreement with the coal-owners. Of course there is a good deal of room for difference of interpretation of the term 'reasonable' in regard to, the proportion of the financial advantages due to the men in connexion with the coal-cutting machines. But the mode in which Mr. Mitchell states his claim does not *prima facie* appear open to objection.

Mr. Spahr's chapter on the Trade-Union movement in Chicago, however, where it is extremely powerful, reveals the persistence in a pronounced form of what we may call the Luddite attitude towards machinery. It was among the builders, and the carpenters particularly, the inferior members of which craft had suffered from being put to tend machines in factories, that Mr. Spahr heard the greatest complaints. These men defended the opposition in which they had taken part, and which Mr. Spahr stigmatises as 'barbarous,' to the use of a machine for sawing stone, and generally he

found it impossible to shake their conviction that machinery threw workmen out of employment. This was the belief current among the members of one of the most important unions in the Building Trades Combination, which had reduced the employers to such a condition of submission as not only to secure for carpenters an eight hours' day with a minimum wage equivalent to more than eighteen pence an hour, but also a promise that none but union carpenters should be employed, and that the men should be allowed to indulge in 'sympathetic strikes' without being held to have committed any violation of their agreement. Facts such as these prove uncontestedly that in the United States the most retrogressive unionist policy may be found in connection with the most conspicuous unionist successes. But further, as we have already mentioned, there was during a considerable part of last year a dispute between employers and employed in the engineering trade, in which those acting on the part of the latter put forward not only a demand for a nine instead of a ten hours' day, but also a series of claims for the control by the union of the arrangements of work apparently quite as unfavourable to effective freedom of management as any of the demands, expressed or implied, against which the federated engineering employers of this country fought so resolutely and so successfully in 1897. In particular, the union officials set themselves definitely against piece-work, in regard to which they employed the arguments which have always been current on that subject in some unions in this country, and even resisted the introduction of a system of premium payment, which was apparently free from several of the objections taken from a union point of view to the system of piece-work. In the end, as has been already recorded, after a brief suspension of work at two or three establishments, the dispute was arranged on the basis of mutual concession. On the one side the employers consented that the length of the working day should be nine instead of ten hours, and that overtime should be paid at the rate of time and a quarter up to 10 P.M., time and a half up to midnight, and double the normal rate after midnight. Expressly in consideration of the concession made to them in the matter of hours, the union with which they were dealing agreed that it would place no restriction on the management of production in the workshops and would call upon its members to give a fair day's work for a fair day's wage. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, technically at any rate, the employers were much less successful in the

arrangement just specified than the members of the engineering federation in this country, who were able to obtain the recognition of their right to arrange unchecked all questions of works management, without making any corresponding concessions in respect of either hours or rates of pay. In fact, no one would suppose, on a comparative examination of the terms of the two settlements, and even of the negotiations which preceded them, that if there was any difference in the general character of the state of things respectively established thereby in the engineering shops of the two countries the advantage lay rather with the union here and with the masters there. Indeed, the contrary of that would be supposed.

Yet, beyond doubt, it is the general if not universal belief of Englishmen who have compared engineering shop conditions in the United States and Great Britain, that while freedom of individual exertion exists and is exercised to the full with them, it either does not exist or, if it does, is very partially exercised in this country, where after the great conflict of 1897 it was in theory established beyond challenge. It is precisely this difference between the conditions of engineering success in the two countries on which the author of the 'Times' letters on engineering competition lays the greatest stress. He wrote apparently before any changes were effected in the States in pursuance of last year's settlement, and therefore before the authority of the union had ceased to be directed towards the maintenance of day-work wages and the discouragement of rates based either upon piece or upon a premium system. And yet he found, or believed that he found, even then freedom from trade-union restrictions in all matters bearing upon the productivity of workmen and of machines. And a chief feature of his testimony was that unless the British engineers were prepared to see their trade gradually go from them they would have to concert effective measures to secure that real freedom in the management of their works and the utilisation of their plant which they were understood to have secured two years before.

These apparent discrepancies, when the subject is looked at from different points of view, can be reconciled, or at least explained. There is plenty of trade-union spirit among American workmen in regard to improvements in the conditions of labour, such as the enhancement of rates of wages, the diminution of hours of work, and, *à fortiori*, where they exist, the removal of such abuses as the survival of the

truck system. On such matters as these they readily draw together, when the economic conditions appear to offer any prospect of amelioration, and sometimes also when the chances of success are but slight. Nor are they by any means exempt, as has been seen, from economic delusions on such questions as that of the influence of machinery on the prosperity of workpeople. But there is among them generally an attitude of mind in regard to work itself which differentiates them broadly to their employers' advantage and their own from that which is characteristic of the workman in too many trades in this country. The American working people do not look upon work as a curse or an evil, to be kept within the smallest possible limits, and made the basis for as large as possible a claim for compensation at the hands of those for whom it is undertaken. On the contrary, speaking broadly, they look upon work as not only the inevitable but the healthy and natural, and on the whole interesting and agreeable, occupation of the greater part of mankind during the greater part of their lives, and they throw themselves into it, almost whatever it may be, with vigour and zest, on account of its inherent interest, as well as with a view to the remuneration it will secure. American work, in a word, is as a rule strenuous and intelligent. On this subject the evidence appears to be unanimous, and, what is very important to notice, it includes occupations which are notorious, with us, for the amount of idling and shirking to be seen in connection with them, and which, even in the States, are associated with a good deal of economic heresy and narrowness of view. M. Levasseur was greatly struck by this feature of American industrialism, both from his own observation and from what he heard and read of the views of other observers with foreign experience. He himself noticed, for example, the speed with which houses were constructed in New York and Chicago. This was after conversation with a French manufacturer settled in Philadelphia, who had been agreeably impressed by the manner in which a house or factory had been built for him there. 'Ces ouvriers,' he was assured, 'travaillent con-sciencieusement et vite.' The matter was presented in a different way to Mr. Spahr at Chicago, but the upshot was the same :—

'At the Carpenters' Union headquarters,' he tells us, 'when I spoke warmly of the union victory in securing the eight hours' day, I was surprised to hear one of the carpenters remark, "Yes; but if we won seven hours, half of us would be dead." When I asked what

he meant, he replied that every time the hours were shortened the bosses made them work just that much harder. . . . When the trade-unions increased their demands of the contractors, the contractors increased theirs of the men, and there was no power to make any contractor keep any man who did not turn out a remunerative quantity of work.'

In this country the power of the trade-union has been more than sufficient to secure, in hundreds of cases, that a standard of work should not be insisted on that would make it difficult, or impossible, for men in early middle life to keep up the pace. If a strong and otherwise highly successful trade-union at Chicago fails to achieve any limitation upon the amount of work to be exacted from carpenters within their reduced hours of work, the reason, we take it, is that any such attempt would be foreign to the general wishes of the men. Of course there are complaints with regard to the intensity of work expected from and given by the ordinary workmen in the United States, and men are heard and read of who say that they think that the lot of the European workman, with his much poorer pay, but with his comparative freedom to dawdle, is enviable as compared with that of his American rival. But the grumblers are mostly, if not altogether, men who were born and grew up on this side of the Atlantic. At any rate, they are unable to modify the general attitude of their fellow-workmen in the States.

To reduce the number of hours within which they work has often been, and may often yet be, the object of concerted effort among American workmen. But, whatever the recognised number of their hours may be, whatever the kind of work, whatever the conditions under which it is carried on, the overwhelming majority of them put their hearts and minds into their work, and make their output as large as is possible to them. It is so in the fiery heats amidst which the attendants of the great steel-furnaces fly about with the tireless spring of gymnasts, co-operating with the mightiest powers of Nature harnessed to the service of man. It is so amid the incessant whirr and rattle of the New England cotton factories, where Mr. Spahr noticed no old men, and heard from the Union secretary that as a matter of fact 'the strain of the work wore men out before they were forty-five, and their fingers were no longer nimble enough to keep up with work demanded.' It is so even in the sweating shops of New York, where the speed with which the tailors worked seemed to M. Levasseur 'vertigineuse.' It is so, perhaps one may say above all, in

the magnificently equipped engineering establishments of the States. There the sympathetic interest evolved so generally between the American workman and the productive enterprise, whatever it may be, on which he is engaged receives a high degree of stimulation. He seems, as it were, to catch the spirit of the vast combinations of subtle mechanism amid which he plays his important but limited part, and to be glad of every opportunity of aiding in the developement of the speed and economy with which they fulfil the constructive and adaptive functions for which they exist. And so, not only does he do what in him lies to get the largest results out of the machinery on which he is employed, as it stands, but it frequently happens that men come to the manager, or the head of their department, with ideas as to some further saving or still greater increase of production. Such ideas they are ready to impart on the understanding that, if they turn out of practical value, their authors will obtain a fair share of the resultant gains—a kind of bargain which the proprietors of works are very generally ready to strike with them. It was not likely that workmen animated by the kind of temper of which we have spoken—a temper marked not less by a true liberality than by enlightened self-interest—would be willing to sacrifice their lively interest in their work in order to aid in the realisation of an industrial ideal with which they did not agree, unless, indeed, they felt that they would lose caste among their fellows by refusing to do so. For any such fear there was clearly no ground. In England it might be otherwise. With us, too often the engineer who is making a good thing out of a piece-work job is still apt to be looked upon with coldness by his fellow-workmen as one who cares only for himself and nothing for his mates. In the United States, on the other hand, the tendency is for the duller and less active man to recognise that it is perfectly natural that his smarter neighbour should make higher wages than he, and pass upwards in the industrial scale. Thus we see that in the attempt of the Machinists' Union to obtain terms from the masters restricting the productive efficiency of machines and of workmen, it was really fighting against the general industrial sentiment of the United States in a rather specially intensified form. Very much the larger part, therefore, of such support as for a time it seemed to obtain, and which undoubtedly produced considerable anxiety among well-informed employers, must have been simply due to the fact that prominent among its demands was that

for a reduction, made many years ago in England, of the normal working day in engineering shops from ten hours to nine. To joining in that demand the keenest of the workmen could feel no objection, seeing that there was apparently no attempt to restrict overtime. To the masters, on the other hand, although no doubt the change in the length of the normal working day, and the rates agreed to, involved increased charges for overtime in the case of those of their men who were paid by the day, that access of cost was of slight importance as compared with the practical guarantee which was obtainable in exchange for it of entire freedom in the management of their works.

Such, we take it, is the *rationale* of the differences in the American engineering trade last year and of their comparatively easy settlement. There was also probably in the minds of both sides an anxious desire that the advantage gained by the American engineering industry over that of England in many markets through the protracted stoppage of work here in 1897 should not be thrown away. That danger, at any rate, was completely averted, and the question now rather is, whether there is any, and, if so, what chance that the points of difference between the working classes of the two countries will continue to tell steadily in favour of the United States. Let us consider briefly what may be regarded as the chief causes of the principal difference on which we have observed. Very prominently, as we think, beyond doubt, we must put the influence of climate. The keen dry air of the larger part of that area in the States in which industrial operations seriously competing with our own are carried on is a constant and powerful incentive to activity of body and mind. Its results are seen in the strenuous lives led by persons of every class and occupation. The intensity of the nervous stress daily submitted to, and apparently with something like enjoyment, by the average professional and business man in the States bears the same kind of relation to that which is usual with us, as is borne by the manner of life of all but our leisured classes to that common in England before the days of telegraphs and telephones. A French observer, whom we have mentioned as quoted by M. Levassieur, spoke of the 'conscientious and rapid' work of American bricklayers. We do not suppose that, as a matter of fact, the level of conscience in general is higher than with ourselves. Indeed, 'smartness' in business practice in the States is probably carried farther, and suffers less in the way of checks from conscientious scruples, than is

at all common in the commerce of Great Britain. In the industrial sphere, however, strenuous and vigilant work does mean almost necessarily honest work from the employer's point of view. To put the matter on the lowest ground, a given amount of energy of body and mind put forth by a working engineer, and for that matter in most other manufacturing occupations, pays better if applied to the maintenance of the highest possible standard of production than in scamping of work or other methods of cheating employers. Speaking broadly, therefore, a climate which, like the American, acts as a perpetual nerve tonic is calculated to enhance production—to give those who live subject to its influence corresponding industrial advantages. For the realisation of those advantages, however, another condition appears to be necessary, which condition is also present in the United States—that is, the currency of rates of wages high enough to enable the working man to eat a large amount of meat. Without that form of support in extensive quantities the high evolution of energy witnessed in the American working man would either not take place, or would result very speedily in mental and bodily exhaustion. In the United States the rates of wages in most manual occupations are quite sufficiently higher than those current here to allow of the regular consumption by the working man and his family of a much greater amount of meat than is ordinarily eaten in corresponding working-class households in this country. The impression current in some quarters that, by reason of the Protective tariff, the cost of living in the United States is so much greater than in this country that the notoriously considerable and frequently great difference in nominal wages fails to secure an appreciably higher standard of material well-being is altogether erroneous. There may, no doubt, be conveniences and luxuries for which the discrepancy in current cost is altogether to the disadvantage of the dweller in the United States. Cab-hire and clothes at fashionable tailors' are, doubtless, more costly than is the case with us. But American working men do not incur these charges any more than workmen here, and in their budgets rent is probably the only item which, as a rule, is considerably larger than is usual in this country, having reference to the article obtained. Meat is about as cheap as, or perhaps somewhat cheaper than, with us. Boots are probably no more expensive, of the kinds worn by working people. As to clothes of corresponding qualities there is some difference

of opinion, but having regard to the fact that cotton can be, and is, worn during the hot months, it seems doubtful whether the total cost for dress is more for a working-class household of the same size in the States than in this country. Some figures published in the Bulletin of the United States Department of Labour in September, 1898, on wages in the United States and Europe, are put forward very tentatively, being professedly based, so far as this country is concerned, on very limited data. Still, a few of them may be mentioned as affording probably an at least approximate illustration of the differences between the wages current here and in the United States in some of the occupations most closely associated with the engineering industry. We take the figures for 1896, as that appears to be the latest year for which a comparison is available. The average daily wages for 'machinists,' probably equivalent to what we should call a good average workman in an engineering shop, for iron-moulders, and for pattern-makers are — translated into our money—approximately, for certain cities in the United States, ten shillings, ten shillings and sevenpence, and eleven and ninepence, and in certain cities of Great Britain six and threepence, six and eightpence, and six and sevenpence. It is quite possible that the disparity thus indicated is greater than that which actually obtains, but even a considerable deduction would leave the margin of difference still important. In the steel industry there is reason to believe that the disproportion in the general scale of wages between the two countries is markedly on the same side.

Thus it will be seen that, subject to a qualification to be presently mentioned, the physical conditions calculated to enable the working man to fill with the utmost zeal and efficiency his part in a great system of mechanical production are conspicuously present in the United States. So also are certain moral and intellectual advantages. Chief among the former, from the economic point of view, is the democratic structure of society in the United States and the absence in the industrial sphere of anything corresponding to those sharply marked distinctions of class which are so perceptible through the factory and workshop systems of this country. There is, of course, plenty of careful grading in the finely organised manufacturing establishments of the great Republic, but its basis is purely one of professional merit. There is no barrier there, vague and indefinable perhaps, but none the less real, such as still makes it always

appear much more probable than not, even to the good English workman, that he will die a workman. To the American artisan of the same relative quality the chances seem excellent that he will have raised himself to a position, not of social superiority, but of greater comfort and larger leisure. The upward path is entirely open; he has seen, and daily sees, it mounted with sure and rapid steps by scores and even hundreds of his fellows, and there is no reason why, by the exercise of the same energy and resourcefulness, he should not attain a like success. In a word, the absence in the industrial system of the States and the presence in ours of distinctions corresponding to that between commissioned and non-commissioned ranks in the army, or, however loosely, to that between gentle and simple, serves in an important degree to enhance the comparative stimulus to strenuous and intelligent exertion among American working men.

Then, further, comes what some of our most thoughtful and well-informed observers might put in the first place of all—the higher level of intelligence prevailing among American working men. American educationists, indeed, are still deeply dissatisfied with the results attained by their system. That is so much the better for their prospects and so much the worse for ours, unless a like noble discontent can be infused among us as to the results of our continued failure to grapple with the problem of national education as a whole. We do not desire to enter upon any comparison of our primary schools and those of the United States, as illustrated by the mental condition of the average child trained in those institutions respectively up to the age of fourteen. It is enough to point out that in the States education does not stop at that age. The laws and practice in different States no doubt vary, and it appears from Mr. Spahr's book that children go to work in the cotton factories in the Southern States much earlier than is at all desirable, and as young as thirteen in those of New England. This latter fact represents a reform as compared with the state of things prevalent twenty years ago, when the cotton hands were mainly recent immigrants from French Canada and elsewhere, and their condition had hardly begun to interest American public opinion. In this respect the industrial law in New England is not in accord either with the high intellectual traditions of that group of States or with the general level of feeling on educational subjects among parents of the industrial classes in the Republic. They

are, it must be remembered, in so far as they come of American stock, the members of a race, of which, for many generations, a primary education of sound intellectual quality and of deeply democratic inspiration has been the common heritage. It has developed an average character of exceptional force and initiative. It prepared the way also for the establishment and the utilisation of those institutions for instruction in applied science which have sprung up widely during the last thirty years, and which during the past fifteen years have been extended and developed by wealthy Americans with princely lavishness of building and equipment. Therein certainly has lain much of the nursing ground of the industrial competition which we are now facing. We have to encounter a race of employers who fully appreciate the value of the best scientific and technical training for industrial life. And among the working classes we have to reckon with great numbers of parents who do not want their boys to be adding to the family income before they are sixteen or seventeen, and until they reach that age desire them to avail themselves as fully as possible of the excellently equipped secondary and technical schools which are so widely diffused in the principal industrial States. The result is that a large proportion of the youths and young men, with which the great establishments of the metal and other industries are constantly being recruited, enter the works with a general intelligence so well trained that they are speedily able to apprehend the principles of the machinery on which they are employed. Thus prepared, they find nothing uninteresting or ignoble in the limited parts assigned to the eye and hand of man in many of the highly specialised processes by which American manufacturing industry is increasingly distinguished. If put to such work, it is their aim that their machine should produce a 'record' in their works, and that, if possible, by improvements at their suggestion, their works should produce a 'record' in the States.

Where is there to be found among us this admirable spirit? Will it continue in its full present measure with those who have it, and who, having it, deserve and are bound to pass us and any others who have it not? Is there any hope that by any modifications of the conditions in which our industries are set something of the same spirit may come to dominate our working classes? There are a few observers who deprecate alarm, for the reason that, as they hold, the American industrial pace is a great deal too hot to be permanently

maintained by any nation that is not perpetually recruited by fresh blood from abroad. This view was forcibly maintained in an article on American *versus* British workmen by a very well informed occasional correspondent of the 'Engineer' newspaper. This acute writer, the whole of whose article (January 26, 1900) is highly deserving of study, and to whose analysis of the causes of difference between the industrial position here and in the States we feel much indebted, goes so far as to suggest that the population of the principal industrial States of the Union 'would cease to multiply, or would even actually diminish, if the influx from Europe were to stop.' We believe that the fact noted by other well-informed observers, that at any rate among the better-class American artisan families there are rarely more than two children, may certainly be regarded as affording some support to the suggestion of which we have spoken. In the same connexion may be considered the evidence appearing at various points in Mr. Spahr's book as to the very early termination of the effective industrial life of the American workman. Thus, as we have already mentioned, he learnt that the strain of work in the New England cotton factories wore men out before they were forty-five. At Lindale, one of the Southern factory towns, the superintendent of the mills told him that they had few men over thirty-five years old.

'He suggested,' proceeds Mr. Spahr, 'that early marriages had much to do with it. The people marry young, and when they get to middle life they expect their children to support them. Whatever the explanation, the fact confronts you everywhere. It had been the saddest feature of cotton-mill life at the North, and at the South it was still more impressive. The children were at work, and men were idle.'

Again, in his chapter on the Iron Centres, which may be read with special interest in view of the light it throws on the probable policy of the great new steel trust towards organised labour, Mr. Spahr arrives at the conclusion that rollers in steel works are 'old' at from forty to forty-five. He seems to attribute this, perhaps, more to the recent extension of the working day in steel works from eight to twelve hours, than to the greater intensity of the work while it lasts; but his principal informant on the workmen's side affirmed strongly that the latest machinery in the rolling mills required, though less intelligence, more incessant attention than had formerly been necessary. It is an omission which we regret in his book that it contains no examination of the conditions of

work at great engineering establishments. It would certainly seem reasonable to suppose, however, in view of the unanimous body of testimony to which we have referred as to the quality of the labour there and the amount of energy and vigilance thrown into it, that the stress involved must be as severe and as exhausting as that to which Mr. Spahr bears witness in the case of cotton factories. Assuming that to be the case, there can be little doubt that the effective industrial life of the British artisan exceeds by some ten to fifteen years that usual in the States, and that in the trades in which the competition of American producers is most keenly felt. The Lancashire cotton weavers and spinners commonly work on to the age of fifty-five or more, and engineers till between fifty-five and sixty or even later, and many of our own iron and steel workers to from fifty to fifty-five. Here, plainly, is a point in our favour. The difference between the total efficiency, as an agent in manufacturing production, of the average British and the average American artisan is very much less than appears from the records of their respective achievements in any single year, or even in any decade. And the stock of the British artisan in his own country is much more fruitful than when transplanted across the Atlantic. The average number of children in working-class families is much larger here than in the States. There is some consolation for us in these reflections, but it is of a kind which we need to cherish with much caution. The American working classes are constantly being recruited by new blood, which they assimilate with surprising rapidity, and there seems to be no reason to anticipate that the stream of immigration will cease for many years to come. Until it does, and for some considerable time after that event, we have good cause to anticipate that American production will go forward at an ever-increasing rate of progression under the influence of the conditions which we have analysed. The American climate is unlikely to change, and science holds out no prospect of the discovery of methods for drying and electrifying that under which we suffer. It is possible that American society may become less democratic in its structure and temper, and, indeed, one hears and reads already of the developement in certain quarters among our kinsmen of the stupid notion that manual toil is vulgar. The progress of so unfortunate a change would, no doubt, gradually react in the industrial field, but it seems highly improbable that within the lifetime of a generation there will be any approach, in the States, to the general evolution of such a system of social

grades as that which flourishes here. The relative physical and moral advantages, therefore, which promote the peculiar enthusiasm and intelligence of American labour will persist, the first entirely, the second, probably, in a high degree, and it is idle to shut our eyes to the fact that in many branches of industry, in many markets, we shall find ourselves definitely passed.

Yet there are things to be remembered which afford ground for sober encouragement. For a considerable time to come much the larger part of American manufacturing production in many departments will be required to meet the demands of the vast and ever-growing home market. British manufacturers, therefore, and British artisans have time, not to waste, indeed, in the vain hope that the industrialism of the States will wear itself out before setting itself to capture all our markets, but to prepare themselves for such a struggle as neither they nor their fathers have ever known. It is surely conceivable that, in view of the approaching danger, British employers should recognise the urgent need of welcoming all suggestions of improvement in methods and processes, from whatever quarter, and especially from their own workmen, and should abandon the short-sighted selfishness involved in cutting piece-rates in such fashion as actually to discourage activity and devotion in their *employés*. There can be no doubt, in view of the testimony of eminent British engineers, that this kind of folly has been practised here to an extent which in America would be absolutely impossible. Let our artisans, on the other hand, recognise that it is only by throwing themselves, with some approach to the American intensity of zest, into co-operation with the most improved mechanical appliances, that they can give the trades on which they depend any chance of holding their own in presence of an ever-advancing competition. And, finally, let both capitalists and artisans and all the nation recognise that only a race of employers educated at once liberally and practically, and a soundly and broadly instructed people, can hope to maintain a rivalry for the commercial primacy of the world.

- AET. IX.—1. *Lettres d' Abélard et Héloïse.* Traduites par M. GRÉARD. Paris: 1895.
2. *Lettres portugaises.* Ed. EUGÈNE ASSE. Paris: 1873.
3. *Letters of a Portuguese Nun.* Translated by E. PRESTAGE. London: David Nutt. 1897.
4. *Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin.* London: edition of 1798.
5. *Letters of Keats to Fanny Brawne.* Edited by BUXTON FORMAN. London: 1878.
6. *Lettres à l'Étrangère.* H. DE BALZAC. Paris: 1899.
7. *Lettres à une Inconnue.* PROSPER MÉRIMÉE. Paris: 1889.

FOR how many sins—the desire for the forbidden being implanted in the heart of fallen mankind—is not the Decalogue mainly responsible? And it may be asked with equal plausibility how many publications have owed their popularity to the fact that a stricter censorship of good taste would have placed them upon the Index? There is an unwritten law which prohibits the proclamation in the market-place of a man's private feelings. It forbids the presence of the public—a shadowy third—at the door of the confessional, be the sinner never so distinguished, the sin never so psychologically interesting, the penitent never so willing, and the priest never so complaisant. It dictates in diary, journal, and correspondence 'the depreciatory operation of asterisks and blanks.' It refuses the surrender of a man's intimate emotions to that promiscuous confidant, the general reader.

With what result? Indefensible, irrational, but strictly human, the prohibition has enhanced the value of the confidences withheld. Curiosity has been stimulated by erasures, and the speculative interest of the world at large has been riveted upon the blotted page of the suppressed utterances of loves, passions, or remorses. Or, when neither blot nor erasure intervenes to efface the record, we mostly read what we concede ought never to have been printed, listen to what should never have been spoken aloud, with only that pleasant sting of the conscience of good taste which gives zest to the illicit gratification of our wishes.

Some such glamour—the glamour of forbidden fruit—hangs over the volumes which purport to contain the love-letters, spurious or genuine, of men and women of our own

day and generation. No happier advertisement could have been found for one of the most popular of recent works than the prefatory note implying that the anonymity of the 'Love-letters of an Englishwoman' is necessitated by the fact that they represent not fiction but actuality, and are, what they profess to be, letters written with 'no thought that they would be read by anyone but the person to whom they were addressed.'

It must, however, be at once allowed that in the case of genuine love-letters of modern date the temptation to editorial indiscretion lies rather in the demand of the public than in the merits of the letters themselves, as far as we have been made acquainted with them. Love-letters proper, as they strike a contemporary, do not usually count among a man's most felicitous epistolary efforts. They rarely evoke any regret in the mind of the reader for the termination of those periods of separation which occasioned the correspondences of lovers. Undoubtedly they are a work of exceptional difficulty, so far as regards the world outside the world of the two persons immediately concerned. Terms of endearment (and such terms, however minimised, are almost a necessity of the situation) are in themselves, when no haze of past fashions of speech dissociates them from modern life, a snare for the pen of the unwary, and jar the imagination with reminiscences of documentary evidence in the breach of promise case of yesterday's newspaper. 'Si tu m'aiines,' wrote Victor Hugo to his Adèle, 'tu sais quelle a été ma joie . . . mon Adèle, pourquoi cela ne s'appelle-t-il que de la "joie?"' Yet the dictionary provides no substitutes and no alternatives. We have more or less by common consent eliminated the legacy of the sonnet-writer of earlier days from the vocabulary of lovers: 'those words,' as Addison tells us, which even at his time 'have always a place in "passionate epistles, as flames, die, darts, absence, Cupid, heart, eyes, hang, drown, and the like," have been consigned to the limbo of the unavailable. We have been, for a season at all events, educated out of them, and there are hints that kisses and tears are possibly about to follow them into their retreat. For, as a poet, Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, pertinently asks, how shall a man distinguish between his tears and those of the shopboys

‘Who would weep
Their shilling’s worth of woe in any cause?
. . . Their tears and mine—
What difference? Oh truly tears are cheap! ’

They are, and truly; but how much they must have facilitated the composition of the love-letter of authors born before shopboys had been allowed the privilege of crying, and before kisses had become the democratic birthright of the plebeian, before the protestations of the mutual devotion of lovers had taken upon themselves the accents of the penny valentine or the associations of transpontine melodrama, we can regretfully divine!

The process of elimination, although the use of the asterisk was still in full force, was incomplete when the most notable volume extant of English love-letters, written this time in sober earnest by an Anglo-Irishwoman, was published posthumously in 1798. They came, by one of those singular tricks with which fate plays its part in history, from the hand of the spiritual ancestress of the strong-minded sisterhood of to-day, Mary Wollstonecraft, author of the 'Rights of Woman.' No life-chronicle, real or fictitious, contains so vivid a record of a woman's passion, staking all for all in the game of games where the dice are loaded and the cards marked for mischance. They tell their own story as clearly as those series of genuine and spurious 'Lettres portugaises' which had won so popular a place in the literature of seventeenth-century France. They tell it without aid of notes or commentaries. It is the story of Mary Wollstonecraft's wrongs, of her love for Imlay—the love foredoomed to disaster, of a woman with a heart which was blind linked to a brain which saw; where all the illusions of an idealist were supplemented by the ruthless, clear-sighted judgements of an intellect at once keen, cultivated, and mature. Perhaps nothing more profoundly pathetic exists in letter form than the earlier pages of the little volume viewed in the light of the sequel; when, as the series opens, Imlay is still at hand, her lover in love's halcyon days, with all the volcanic storms of the French Revolution surging round the 'barriers,' where—the letter is dated Paris, 1793—the lovers are to meet next day. She writes, past midnight, from her obscure lodgings—

'I obey an emotion of my heart which made me think of wishing thee, my love, good night . . . You can scarcely imagine with what pleasure I anticipate the day when we are to begin almost to live together, and you would smile to hear how many plans of enjoyment I have in my head now that I am confident my heart has found peace in your bosom. . . . Yes, I will be good, that I may deserve to be happy, and whilst you love me I cannot again fall into that miserable state which rendered life a burthen almost too heavy to be borne. But, good night—God bless you! Sterne says that is equal to a kiss, yet

I would rather give you a kiss into the bargain, glowing with gratitude to heaven and affection to you. I like the word *affection*, she adds—and the touch is characteristic of the nature of her hopes and desires—

'because it signifies something habitual, and we are soon to meet to try whether we have mind enough to keep our hearts warm.'

It was not, however, so much 'mind' as an even more important factor in happiness—character—that was wanting so far as Imlay was concerned. And though in Mary's first letters she confesses to a 'rational prospect of as much 'felicity as the earth affords,' already she has divined something of the man's baser nature, has guessed that his protestation of constancy is a bankrupt cheque.

'I have found out that I have more mind than you in one respect, because I can find food for love in the same object much longer than you can. . . . The way to my senses is through my heart; but, forgive me, I think there is sometimes a shorter cut to yours. . . . I do not know how I fell into these reflections, excepting one thought produced it—that these continual separations were necessary to warm your affection.' 'I do not know why' [this letter bears a later date], 'but I have more confidence in your affection when absent than present; nay, I think you must love me, for, in the sincerity of my heart let me say it, I believe I deserve your tenderness.' . . . 'Be not too anxious to get money, for nothing worth having is to be purchased,'

is a warning that follows shortly, and belongs to those light words that jest at his 'money-getting face.' And soon there comes the letter whose tenour we anticipate :—

'I was very low-spirited last night, ready to quarrel with your cheerful temper, which makes absence easy to you. And why should I mince the matter? I was offended at you not even mentioning it. I do not want to be loved like a goddess, but I wish to be necessary to you. God bless you!'

Then, true woman as, with those soft, wistful brown eyes of hers Opie painted, she most veritably was—she, the sinned against, asks pardon of the sinner :—

'You perceive,' [she pleads, excusing her just upbraiding] 'sorrow has almost made a child of me, and that I want to be soothed to peace. I thought that if you were obliged to stay three months at — I might as well have been with you. Well, well, what signifies what I brooded over? let us now be friends.'

But the gleams of joy grow few and far between. In the autumn of 1794, though they met again, his desertion of her, and of the child born to her that spring, had begun. She

jest still as she writes ; from first to last they are the letters of a woman whose tears and laughter lie close together. But her affections—to use her own phrase—are too strong for her peace. She has not relinquished the fight for happiness, but she is learning—first lesson of ultimate defeat—to seek it in memories :

' My imagination chuses to ramble back to the barrier with you, or to see you coming to meet me and my basket of grapes. . . . Bring me then back your barrier-face ! '

And if it does not come—September is past, October there—she will love the author of the *Marseillaise*—' A handsome man who plays sweetly on the violin.' Another page and all the lightness has taken flight—' My heart longs for your return, my love, and only seeks happiness with you.' But he does not return, and in December she is, at best, but a half jester.

' Come to me, my dearest friend, husband, father of my child. . . . It is your own maxim to live in the present moment. *If you do*—stay, for God's sake, but tell me the truth. If not, when may I expect to see you ? and let me not be always looking for you, till I grow sick at heart.' . . . ' I will live without your assistance.'

So at length the slow scorn her heart has learnt bitterly creeps fully into sight.

' I consider fidelity and constancy as two distinct things, yet the former is necessary to give life to the latter ; and such a degree of respect do I think due to myself, that if only probity, which is a good thing in its place, brings you back, never return ! — for if a wandering of the heart, or even a caprice of imagination, detains you, there is an end of all my hopes of happiness. I could not forgive it, if I would.'

' Despair is a freeman ; ' dead to hope, she is finding, in all its sharpness, liberty. The man she loved is turned to idols, to money-getting, to vulgar excesses, to the sordid service of gold. Let him alone ! And yet, if true hope was buried deep, some counterfeit arises to take its place, and love, for Mary Wollstonecraft, dies hard. Imlay writes, and she ' finds some comfort,' and the old passionate desire for his love, ' the want of my heart,' breaks out.

' One thing let me tell you. When we meet again—surely we are to meet ! —it must be to part no more. . . . Adieu, adieu. My friend, your friendship is very cold.'

The end verily was near. It was a case of the world *versus* Mary, and the world—Imlay's sordid world—had

won. Its triumph is chronicled in the last letter but one of the correspondence :

' . . . Gracious God ! It is impossible for me to stifle something like resentment when I receive fresh proofs of your indifference. What I have suffered this last year is not to be forgotten. I have not that happy substitute for wisdom, insensibility ; and the lively sympathies which bind me to my fellow-creatures are all of a painful kind. They are the agonies of a broken heart. Pleasure and I have shaken hands. . . . I am weary of travelling, yet seem to have no home—no resting-place to look to. I am strangely cast off. How often, passing through the rocks, I have thought "but for this child, I would lay my head on one of them, and never open my eyes again." . . . I do not understand you. It is necessary for you to write more explicitly, and determine on some mode of conduct. . . . Decide. Do you fear to strike another blow ? We live together, or eternally part.'

They met but once again, a meeting which terminated in her attempt at suicide.

How much the Wollstonecraft letters owe to the tragedy of the circumstances which gave rise to them it is hard to say. But they stand by themselves, and the letters which belong to the most famous love-story of the next generation follow only afar off in their wake.

Mary, the daughter of Mary Wollstonecraft's subsequent marriage with William Godwin, in the first year of her union with Shelley, finds here and there phrases full of grace and tenderness in the letters occasioned by a temporary suspension of their common home life. Yet, though all the first enthusiasm of youth was alight at their hearts, though their love, no less than that of Mary Wollstonecraft for Imlay, was fanned, it may be, by defiance of the world's conventions, neither in Mary's letters nor in Shelley's responses is there the least echo of the swift passion that colours and discolours the pages where the elder woman mingled her jests with wormwood.

' Dearest Love, I am so out of spirits; I feel so lonely; but we shall meet to-morrow, so I will try to be happy. . . . I received your letter to-night. I wanted one, for I had not received one for nearly two days; but do not think I mean anything by this, my love. I know you took a long, long walk yesterday, and so you could not write; but I, who am at home, who do not walk out, I could write to you all day, love. . . . How you philosophise and reason about love ! Do you know, if I had been asked I could not have given one reason in its favour, yet I have as great an opinion as you concerning its exaltedness, and love very tenderly to prove my theory. Adieu for the present. . . . I shall meet you to-morrow, love. . . .

' Your own Mary, who loves you so tenderly.'

'So,' writes Shelley, in reply, 'so my beloved boasts that she is more perfect in the practice than I in the theory of love. Is it thus? No, sweet Mary, you only meant that you loved me more than you could express; that reasoning was too cold and slow for the rapid fervour of your conceptions. Perhaps, in truth, Peacock had infected me; my disquisitions were cold, my subtleties unmeaningly refined, and I am a harp responsive to every wind; the scented gale of summer can wake it to sweet melody, but rough, cold blasts draw forth discordances and jarring sounds.'

'My own love, did I not appear happy to-day? For a few moments I was entranced in most delicious pleasure, yet I was absent and dejected. I knew not when we might meet again, when I might hold you in my arms, and gaze on your dear eyes at will, and snatch momentary kisses in the midst of one happy hour, and sport in security with my entire and unbroken bliss. I was about to return—whither? Oh! I knew not, nor was it matter of concern—from you, from our delightful peace to the simple expectation of felicity. *I shall* be happy is not so divine as *I am*. "To be content to let 'I dare not' wait upon 'I would,' like the poor cat i' the adage," to those who love is feverish agitation and sickening disquietude; and my poor Mary that loves me with such tenderness and truth—is her loneliness no pain to me?' . . .

'There are moments in your absence, my love, when the bitterness with which I regret the unrecoverable time wasted in unprofitable solitude and worldly cares is a most painful weight; you alone reconcile me to myself and to my beloved hopes. Good night, my excellent love, my own Mary.'

There is no touch, no hint here of the world well lost. Their loves are the loves of seventeen and twenty-two year-old lovers, the loves of a girl and a boy, and Mary, with the brown eyes of her mother, has the more equable blood of her father in her veins, and has been brought up in the abode of philosophy, while Shelley, the poet of the 'Epipsy-chidion,' has not acquired the art of translating a passion into prose.

It would not in truth seem that poets in love, though the Brownings and Victor Hugo may be cited as make-weights on the other side, are more blessed than their lay brethren in the difficult art of the love-epistle. Goethe, in the first ardours of his attachment to Frau von Stein—an attachment evidenced by, according to Schiller's statement, more than a thousand letters—forfeits, surely, most of the attractions of his genius. To give a brief extract—the translation is G. H. Lewes's:

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'Wherefore must I plague thee, dearest creature? Wherefore deceive myself and plague thee? We can be nothing to each other, and yet are too much to each other. Believe me, thou art in all things one with me, but because I see things as they are it makes me mad.'

Good night, good angel, and good morning. I will see thee no more . . . only . . . Thou knowest all. . . . My heart is . . . All I can say is mere folly. In future I shall see thee as men see the stars.'

Nor, to take an instance from a poet of the school most opposed to that of the great German realist of his day, was Keats more fortunate as presented to us in the character of lover. Mr. Buxton Forman has rendered him the doubtful homage of publishing the letters to Fanny Brawne—letters which had not appeared in Lord Houghton's Life. Rarely can the indiscretion of admiration have gone further. They are the letters of a man sick in body, unnerved in heart, and fevered in mind. There is scarcely a page in the whole correspondence to justify its surrender to the public. Its only interest is derived from the fact that they are the letters of one of the greatest poets—if beauty of imagination and sweetness of sound be counted for greatness—of his century; and the sentence in which (Letter xxxi.) Keats asserts his intention ‘at some future time’ of offering the correspondence to Murray comes like a side thrust of irony. In love with a woman who, willing or unwilling, blameless or faulty, brought small joy and much misery—‘for myself ‘I have been a martyr the whole time,’ he writes—into the last melancholy years of the poet's life, it remains a volume whose claim is not for existence but oblivion. And in the land where all books are forgotten may it find a grave, and may criticism, with memories of Hamlet and Tristram Shandy somewhat coupled and confused, write on its tomb, to borrow Sterne's phrase, ‘no more than these three words ‘of inscription, serving both for epitaph and elegy, “Alas, ‘“poor—Keats! ””

But if poets such as Shelley and Keats, of whom surely we might have anticipated better things, appear in this matter but as common men, golden indeed as love-poets, but mere chimney-sweepers in respect of letter-writing, the cloister is prepared to indemnify, and more than indemnify, us for their shortcomings.

When, in the month of May 1164, Héloïse, Superior of the convent of the Paraclete, was borne to the sepulchre where twenty-two years earlier she had laid the body of Abélard—lover, troubadour, philosopher, theologian, and founder of the Order, ‘tout ce qu'il y avoit de considérable ‘dans la province, soit dans l'église, soit dans l'épée, soit ‘dans la robe, honorèrent de leur présence ses funérailles.’ And though it is not mentioned by her biographer, there

were, we may be confident, lovers not a few to mourn the death of the greatest of their race. ‘Epouse sans mari, une ‘veuve avant sa mort, une mère sans enfans, une religieuse ‘sans vocation,’ her letters retain their place amongst the classics of literature. They are a gospel-book of passion to which the seven centuries which have elapsed since her burial have added no single chapter from the hand of woman that does not mark a declension in strength—a strength imparted by the brilliance of her intellectual powers of thought to the expression of her emotional powers of feeling.

How much the convent walls may have conduced to the intensity as well as the durability of the long love in which Héloïse lived and died is a question. Marianna Alcaforada, author of the five authentic letters that gave their title, ‘*Lettres portugaises*,’ as a generic term to many subsequent compositions, is eager to impress upon her lover the aids to constancy afforded by the religious life :

‘On devrait plutôt s’attacher à elles [les religieuses] qu’aux autres femmes. Rien ne les empêche de penser incessamment à leur passion : elles ne sont point détournées par mille choses qui dissipent et qui occupent dans le monde.’

But the cases of the Franciscan nun of Beja and the Abbess of the Paraclete are not parallel. Characters and circumstances, the two women and the two lovers, were wholly alien to one another, and if the letters of both reach the high-water mark of passion, it is a high-water mark of divided seas. Self—the undisciplined youth of fierce southern blood—self, wavering between love and hate, forgetful that anything exists except her love, her jealousy and her despair—self, in short, not the Don Juan of the plot, the Marquis de Chamilly, is writ large upon every page. Marianna is the central point of Marianna’s thought. For Héloïse every sentence is a self-surrender, an act of self-effacement. If she takes shame that ‘parmi les épouses d’un Dieu’ she finds herself ‘la servante d’un homme,’* she at least serves her master with a pure and selfless adoration, a complete self-renunciation, the brides of Christ might emulate with envy. If to the very end it is Abélard whose feet she follows, she follows him upon the thorny road which leads to God :

‘Lorsque tu es allé à Dieu, je t’ai suivi, que dis-je ? je t’ai précédé. . . . Si tu ne m’en tiens aucun compte, vois combien le sacrifice aura été

vain, car je n'ai point de récompense à attendre de Dieu ; je n'ai encore, qui ne le sait ? rien fait pour lui.'

So she writes in that first letter which has been the inspiration of so many copyists :

' Au nom de celui auquel tu t'es consacré, au nom de Dieu même, je t'en supplie, rends-moi ta présence, autant qu'il est possible en m'envoyant quelques lignes de consolation ; si tu ne le fais pour moi, fais-tu du moins pour que, puisant dans ton langage des forces nouvelles, je vaque avec plus de ferveur au service de Dieu ! . . . Encore une fois, je t'en supplie, pèse ce que tu vois, considère ce que je demande, et je termine d'un mot cette longue lettre. Adieu, mon tout.'

' Garde-toi de penser que je suis guérie,' the confession of ineffectual renunciation, is written, as never before, in the pages of that most desolate correspondence inscribed by her—

' à son maître, ou plutôt à son père; à son époux, ou plutôt à son frère; sa servante, ou plutôt sa fille; son épouse, ou plutôt sa sœur; à Abélard, Héloïse,'

where the responses of Abélard ' à Héloïse sa bien-aimée ' sœur en Jésus-Christ,' responses of the spiritual preceptor en route for the rewards of his more jealous God, fall heavily upon the ear.

It is a far cry indeed from the strong despair of Héloïse to the unwilling suffering of Mariauna Alcaforada. Victim, in her desertion, of a vulgar *aventure de galanterie*, her passion has nothing, save its sincerity, in common with the passion of Héloïse. The story is pitiful enough. ' J'étois ' jeune, j'étois crédule ; on m'avait enfermée dans ce couvent ' depuis mon enfance.' Her Don Juan had been victor without a battle, a conqueror where there was no enemy to combat.

' Il falloit que, dans ces moments trop heureux, j'appelasse ma raison à mon secours . . . mais je me donnois toute à vous. . . . Je m'apercevois trop agréablement que j'étois avec vous pour penser que vous seriez un jour éloigné de moi. Je me souviens pourtant de vous avoir dit quelquefois que vous me rendriez malheureuse ; mais ces frayeurs étoient bientôt dissipées, et je prenois plaisir à vous les sacrifier, et à n'abandonner à l'enchantement et à la mauvaise foi de vos protestations.'

Here Fate, as usual, is the initial scapegoat upon whose shoulders she charges the misdeeds of her lover—' je ne vous ' impute rien . . . j'accuse seulement la rigueur de mon ' destin,' but, and in this lies the redeeming moral quality of the letters, as the gradual certainty of her betrayal grows

upon her, she sets Fate aside and looks the true delinquent in the face. Her contempt for her lover, her contempt for the inferiorities of loves lesser than her own, her impenitence for past joys no present misery can annul, break, ever and again, the monotony of her lamentations :

' Vous êtes plus à plaindre que je ne suis. . . . Je n'envie point votre indifférence, et vous me faites pitié. Je vous défie de m'oublier entièrement. Je me flatte de vous avoir mis en état de n'avoir sans moi que des plaisirs impurfaits . . . Je ne me repens point de vous avoir adoré . . . je vous remercie dans le fond de mon cœur du désespoir que vous me causez, et je déteste la tranquillité où j'ai vécu avant que je vous connusse.'

Then, as the brand of her love refused flames into hate :

' Il faut avouer que je suis obligée à vous haïr mortellement,' she cries. ' Si quelque hasard vous ramenoit en ce pays, je vous déclare que je vous livrerois à la vengeance de mes parents.'

Nor do we doubt for a moment that, circumstances permitting, Marianna, *dévote* as she became, would have kept her promise to the letter. But life was over for Marianna, M. de Chamilly was no more likely to return for her hate than for her devotion, and—

' quand même je pourrois espérer quelque amusement dans un nouvel engagement, et que je trouverois quelqu'un de bonne foi, j'ai tant de pitié de moi-même que je ferois beaucoup de scrupule de mettre le dernier homme du monde en l'état où vous m'avez reduito,'

she had written to her lover in an earlier letter, and here, in this last, coupled with the desire for revenge, remorse of conscience has overtaken her to seal her renunciation of any hopes of mundane consolations :

' J'ai vécu longtemps dans un abandon et dans une idolâtrie qui me donne de l'horreur, et mon remords me persécute avec une rigueur insupportable. Je sens vivement la honte des crimes que vous m'avez fait commettre, et je n'ai plus, hélas ! la passion qui m'empêchoit d'en connoître l'énormité.'

The sincerity of her remorse was indeed attested by thirty long years of penance, when, we may trust, she found the kingdom of heaven more open to her vehement endeavour than the heart of man.

And yet, when all is said, her letters, with their unrestrained violence, wear but a pale complexion of passion beside the condensed sentences in which Héloïse asserts her lifelong fidelity to that love which no devotion to God's service could displace from its supremacy in her soul :

' Tu m'as enchaînée à Dieu avant toi-même. Cette défiance, la

seule que tu m'aies jamais témoignée, me pénétra de douleur et de honte; moi qui, sur un mot, Dieu le sait, t'aurais, sans hésiter, précédé ou suivi jusque dans les abîmes enflammés des enfers! Car mon cœur n'était plus avec moi, mais avec toi. Et si aujourd'hui plus que jamais il n'est pas avec toi, il est nulle part.'

But, with all their shortcomings, Marianna's letters appealed with extraordinary effect to the taste of their age. And to gratify that taste invention dispensed with reality. Seven 'lettres portugaises,' attributed to 'une Dame du 'Monde,' appeared within the year, and *réponses* were fabricated with as little delay as possible, 'pure imitation 'ou frivole jeu d'esprit,' of interest only as serving 'comme 'termes de comparaison entre le cri de la passion et les 'modulations plus ou moins fausses des beaux esprits du 'temps.'*

Pre-excellence in the art of the love-letter has not, however, been the monopoly of the cloister. All professions, ranks, and nationalities have, here in an isolated example, there in a regular love-correspondence, entered the lists. Less than thirty years after the love-letters of Marianna had been written, and while in the royal convent of Our Lady of the Conception, Marianna was still diligently fulfilling her conventional obligations, Sophia Dorothea, the unfortunate wife of George I., was engaged in her perilous intrigue with Königsmarck, chronicling her passion, as fraught with sincerity as it was lacking in dignity, in the letters which have lately appeared in English dress. In the eighteenth century J.-J. Rousseau produced the work of which the preface announces the contents :

'J'ai vu les mœurs de mon tems, et j'ai publié ces "Lettres." Quoique je ne porte ici que le titre d'Editeur, j'ai travaillé moi-même à ce livre, et je ne m'en cache pas. Ai-je fait le tout, et la correspondance entière est-elle une fiction? Gens du monde, que vous importe? C'est sûrement une fiction pour vous. Tout honnête-homme doit avouer les livres qu'il publie. Je me nomme donc à la tête de ce recueil, non pour me l'approprier, mais pour en répondre.'

And the 'Nouvelle Héloïse ou lettres de deux Amans' has taken its place amongst the 'letters' of classic fiction. While, returning to the province of reality—to cite some few of the many examples—to the early years of the nineteenth century belong the love-letters of Victor Hugo. They are letters which lay bare the profoundest devotion of the passionate child-heart of the great romance-maker

* Eugène Asse, 'Notices biographiques et littéraires.'

for his bride to be—Adèle Foucher—as in after years his correspondence betrays the same adoration for his wife that was—‘toi, qui est ma patrie,’ as he, the patriot *par excellence*, cries, when all other words fail him and he seeks some all-comprehensive metaphor of speech in which to express a love which was at once a worship and a faith.*

And to continue in the domains of French literature—the language lending itself more readily than others to the exigencies of lovers—Balzac may be seen as the hero of his own love-story in his ‘*Lettres à l’Étrangère*,’ and M. Prosper Mérimée appears as the original master of a new *genre*, a *genre à part* of the love-letter in his celebrated ‘*Lettres à une Inconnue*’ (Mlle. Jenny Daquin). Balzac and Mérimée may be taken as representing the north and south poles of sentiment. Though a period of some eight years only elapsed between the beginnings of the two correspondences—the first letter of Balzac to Mme. Hanska is dated 1833, the earliest date given by Mérimée is 1841—more than a century might seem to have intervened as regards the feeling expressed and the manner of its expression. Like Hugo, Balzac still retains all the primitive expansiveness of passion ; Mérimée gives the very last word of reserve in sentiment.

Of Balzac’s letters three examples may suffice. The first • is a fragment written before his ‘*espérance délicieuse d’une longue et fervente amitié*’ (the sentence coincides curiously with Mérimée’s offer to Mlle. Daquin of ‘*une bonne amitié qui j’espère pourra être utile un jour à tous les deux*’) has changed, as did also Mérimée’s aspiration, into far other desires. It was written in the days when the face of the woman who was eventually to become his wife was still unknown to him, and has all the eloquence of a phantasmal emotion.

‘Il faut vous dire adieu, et quel adieu ! Cette lettre sera un mois peut-être en route, vous la tiendrez en vos mains, et je ne vous verrai peut-être jamais, vous que je caresse comme une illusion, qui êtes dans tous mes rêves comme une espérance et qui avez si gracieusement donné un corps à mes rêveries. Vous ne savez pas ce que c'est que de peupler la solitude d'un poète d'une figure douce dont les formes sont attrayantes par le vague même que leur prête l'indéfini. Un cœur ardent et seul se prend si vivement à une chimère quand elle est réelle ! . . . Adieu ; si mon rosier ne s'était défleuri, je vous eusse envoyé un de ses pétales.’ . . .

A year later friendship wears another guise :

'Mon amour aimé, d'une seule caresse tu m'as rendu la vie. Oh ! ma chérie, je n'ai pu ni dormir ni travailler. Perdu dans le sentiment de cette soirée je t'ai dit un monde de tendresses. . . . Mon âme, tu as, par amour, deviné le délicieux langage de l'amour. Ange aimé, n'obscurcis d'aucun doute les inspirations de l'amour. . . . Mon amour n'a ni exaltation, ni plus, ni moins, ni quoi que ce soit de terrestre . . . Je me réveille heureux de t'aimer; je me couche heureux d'être aimé. C'est la vie des anges . . .'

And once again, in 1834 :

'Dans dix ans, tu auras trente-sept ans et moi quarante-cinq, et à cet âge on peut s'aimer, s'épouser, s'adorer toute une vie. Allons, mon noble compagnon, ma chère Eve, jamais de doutes, vous me l'avez longtemps promis. Aimez avec confiance. *Séraphita* c'est nous deux. Déployons donc nos ailes par un seul mouvement; aimons de la même manière. Je t'adore, sans voir ni en avant ni en arrière. *Toi*, c'est le présent, c'est tout mon bonheur de toutes les minutes. . . . Cher ange, non, nous ne quitterons jamais la sphère de bonheur où tu me fais un bonheur si complet. Aime-moi toujours, ô ma vie, ô ma belle vie. . . . Je t'envoie une violette de mon jardin.'

In such compositions Mérimée follows a very different model. The charm he imparts to them is that of the finest of steel engravings, and the delicacy, the sharpness, and the lightness of touch more than explain their reputation amongst his other works. Yet we must discriminate. They are the letters of a man in love—so far as love was possible to him; but they are not, or are but rarely in the same sense as the letters heretofore quoted, love-letters. The very nature of the sentiment they express has an indefinable and a somewhat equivocal quality special to itself. If the intelligence, the culture, the beauty, the 'coquetterie' of *l'Inconnue* represented for Mérimée an epitome of civilisation—it is his own word—she might well have retorted that his affection, in its complexity, its scepticism, and its irony, was for her the *résumé* of his age. 'Le scepticisme produit 'la mélancolie,' says Taine's preface to the letters. Mérimée had surfeited on the fruit of the tree and its bitterness had entered into his life, finding vent in many and various actions. For three years' space, he says, he had been 'vaurien par 'tristesse.' Reading the correspondence one might almost picture to oneself that it was for the same (inadequate) reason that he had set himself to the task of wooing Mlle. Daquin—that *par tristesse* only he had become a lover. He pleads the same excuse more than once. His angers, his malice, all, we are to believe (and it is not incredible), sprang from the same

root. ‘ Vous voyez de la colère où il n'y a que de la tristesse,’ and his harsh home-thrusts, his sharp reproofs, may have drawn their venom from the same cause. He was not, in truth, a facile lover, and at best his companionship must have been an alloyed happiness. His pleasures were so easily changed into discontents. It rains—the weather seems to have been very uncertain during those years, of what, for want of a better name, we must call courtship—and all his happiness is overclouded. It threatens to rain—and doubtless for lovers whose rendezvous are mostly open-air trysts bad weather is a serious consideration—and all his anticipations are poisoned by uncertainty. He, or it may be Mlle. Daquin, suffers from that most commonplace of ills—a cold, and the world grows insupportable to him. His references to such minor trials, and they come repeatedly, are at once so serious and so trivial, that by virtue of that very triviality they ring true to life.

‘ Je regrette bien, je vous assure, d'avoir insisté tant pour vous procurer cette affreuse averse,’ he writes after one such showery meeting, of which the delights had not been unchequered. ‘ Il m'arrive rarement de sacrifier les autres à moi-même, et quand cela m'arrive j'en ai tous les remords possibles. Enfin vous n'êtes pas malade et vous n'êtes pas fâchée; c'est là le plus important. Il est bien qu'un petit malheur survienne de temps en temps pour en détourner de plus grands. Voilà la part du diable faite. Il me semble que nous étions tristes et sombres tous les deux; assez contents pourtant au fond du cœur. Il y a des gaietés intimes qu'on ne peut répandre au dehors. Je désire que vous ayez senti un peu de ce que j'ai senti moi-même. Je le croirai jusqu'à ce que vous me disez le contraire. Vous me dîtes deux fois: “Au revoir!” C'est pour de bon, n'est-ce pas?’

‘ Assez content’—the letter—the term is characteristic. He accepts, perhaps as a ‘necessity of temperament, a low level of content. Joy is a Messiah who only comes to men of good faith, and Mérimée is a very Thomas in his doubt of her: ‘ Il n'y a pas de bonheur, à ce qu'il paraît, que dans ‘ les folies et surtout dans les rêves.’

And for him even the dreams were broken by many estrangements. Quarrels, coldnesses, mistrusts are nearly as frequent as the rainy days, and last longer:

‘ Nous nous sommes quittés sur un mouvement de colère; mais, ce soir, en réfléchissant avec calme, je ne regrette rien de ce que j'ai dit,’ he writes in one of these interludes of strife. ‘ Oui, nous sommes de grands fous. Nous aurions dû le sentir plus tôt. Nous aurions dû voir plus tôt combien nos idées, nos sentiments, étaient contraires en tout et sur tout. Les concessions que nous nous faisions l'un à l'autre

n'avaient d'autre résultat que de nous rendre plus malheureux. Plus clairvoyant que vous, j'ai sur ce point de grands reproches à me faire. Je vous ai fait beaucoup souffrir pour prolonger une illusion que je n'aurais pas dû concevoir.'

So quarrels, farewells, reconciliations succeed one another, and between partings and peacemakings come notes which could possibly have been written in no other language, and by no other lover, in their combination of grace and lightness with that tinge of sentiment he could impart by the mere turn of a phrase :

'Je vous envoie un bout de plume de chouette que j'ai trouvée dans un trou de l'église de la Madeleine de Vézelay. L'ex-propriétaire de la plume et moi, nous nous sommes trouvés un instant nez à nez, presque aussi inquiets l'un que l'autre de notre rencontre imprévue. La chouette a été moins brave que moi, et s'est envolée. Elle avait un bec formidable et des yeux effroyables, outre deux plumes en manière de cornes. Je vous envoie cette plume pour que vous en admiriez la douceur, et puis parce que j'ai lu dans un livre de magie, que lorsqu'on donne à une femme une plume de chouette et qu'elle la met sous son oreiller, elle rêve de son ami. Vous me direz votre rêve. Adieu !'

And here and always we see before us the figure of the woman as Mérimée represents her—vain, flattered, an egoist, with sentiment, if she possessed it, well under control, and that of Mérimée as Taine draws it. In her company, 'sous le charme.' Away, 'l'observateur reprenait son office . . . ' il se détachait de son sentiment pour juger un caractère ; ' il écrivait des vérités et des épigrammes que le lendemain 'on lui rendait'—more happily, one hopes, than the author who, under the title of 'Lettres d'une Inconnue,' attempted the fictitious responses. Mérimée knew far too well how to laugh at himself to prove an easy subject for ridicule, and it was little short of an act of literary foolhardiness to jest at so accomplished a self-mocker. Is he ever, indeed, wholly serious ? One is inclined to answer in the negative :

'Vous me demandez s'il y a des romans grecs,' he writes on one occasion. 'Sans doute il y en a, mais bien ennuyeux, selon moi. Il n'est pas que vous ne puissiez vous procurer une traduction de Théagène et Chariclée. Essayez si vous pouvez y mordre ; il y a encore Daphnis et Chloé, traduit par Courier. On ne se vante pas de l'avoir lu, mais c'est son chef d'œuvre ! Décidez-vous après cela, je m'en lave les mains. Si vous avez le courage de lire l'histoire, vous serez charmée d'Hérodote, de Polybe et de Xénophon . . . enfin Thucydide . . . Procurez-vous encore Théocrite et lisez *les Syracusaines*. Je vous recommanderai bien aussi Lucien, qui est le Grec qui a le plus d'esprit, ou plutôt de notre esprit ; mais il est bien mauvais

sujet et je n'ose. Voilà trois pages de grec. . . . P.S.—En ouvrant un livre, je trouve ces deux petites fleurs cueillies aux Thermopyles, sur la colline où Léonidas est mort. C'est une relique comme vous voyez.'

It is a love-letter after Mérimée's own heart. The little dry flowers of Thermopylæ! The gift is as characteristic as was Balzac's of 'une violette de mon jardin.'

The taste for love-letters at the present time is no longer modelled upon the discreet pattern set by Prosper Mérimée. It would seem to have made a retrograde march in the direction of that standard of taste represented in the seventeenth century by the popularity of the 'Lettres portugaises.' In England the posthumous publication of the Browning letters, written, as were Mérimée's, in the forties, gave, without doubt, the imprimatur of genius to what might otherwise have been held for a breach of editorial discretion; and how heavy a share of responsibility lies upon them for having contributed to the blunting of the public judgement in such matters is a question upon which men must agree to differ. It will, however, be generally allowed that the penalty of all things genuine is to be shadowed by the imitation of things counterfeit; that wherever and whensoever the true original, deservedly or undeservedly, has won the applause of the multitude, invention is quick to supply the copy. The Browning correspondence disclosed to the eyes of all the world the gentlest, tenderest, deepest, and most private feelings of a man and woman who, in their love, transformed the ideal into the actual. Throughout the two volumes thus delivered over to us we come at almost every page upon sentences and paragraphs which fall as uncomfortably upon the ear of conscience as overheard confidences. There is scarcely a letter, even opening the book at random, that does not contain expressions to whose use asterisks would have done more reverence than print. Yet we can never forget, as we read, that it was the hand that wrote 'James Lee's Wife,' the hand that wrote the 'Cry of the Children,' by which these pages were likewise written. And, remembering this, they assume a new aspect. They are no longer merely documents rifled from the silence where deep-loves repose in peace, but felics, vestiges of the lives lived, not by man and by woman, but by poet and poetess.

No such *apologia* can be offered for the love-letters recently presented to a public which is asked, as an act of imaginative credulity, to accept them as genuine. The volume ascribed to 'an Englishwoman,' of which the

intrinsic merit does not exceed that of the ordinary meteor in fashions of fiction, represents an attempt in spurious autobiography to exhibit the most intimate feelings of a woman to whom no other interest attaches than the interest belonging to the unrestrained manifestations of her affection in a one-sided correspondence. But, entirely apart from its own merits, and apart from the attempt made to place it on the footing of a veracious reprint of private papers, as a criterion of public taste the volume, at first accepted in many quarters as genuine, suggests some curious consideration to the onlooker. The enthusiastic admiration with which it has been received by some of its readers, the prominence given to its publication, comes to us as an unwelcome intimation that the extreme demonstration of sentiment, usually relegated to the 'poets' page' of current literature, may still find its partisans when translated into prose, and that in this twentieth century of ours passion has still use for the town crier. It is no doubt a question of taste, and for taste there is neither canon, nor rubric, nor any final court of appeal. Every age has its own, every country and every art their varying conventions, every individual reader his own instinct—an instinct of whose infallibility he is by a primary law of human nature inwardly convinced. 'J'ai le goût bon. Quand j'approuve quelque chose, il faut qu'elle soit excellente. J'approuve Chatte Blanche; donc Chatte Blanche est excellente et je veux le soutenir contre tout le genre humain,' said the 'Gentilhomme Bourgeois' in Mme. d'Aulnoy's Parisian Decameron, and to the end of time the reading public, not unfitly represented by the 'nouveau gentilhomme' of the fiction, will base its arguments upon the same incontrovertible premisses. The popularity of the letters of an Englishwoman appear to us to rest upon a like foundation. They lack the reserve of the artificiality of form which enables the poet to do all, and more than all, which is here attempted, without outraging what Charles Lamb would have designated as 'decorum.' They lack the lightness of hand—'la légèreté est sa décence,' a critic says somewhere in connection with another art—which might have excused the want of emotional drapery. They lack most of all the elementary perception of the force of reticence as the only possible suggestion of passion at its supreme height. Of the uses of silence—

‘Silence, thou that art
Floodgate of the deeper heart’—

they know nothing.

- AET. X.—1. *The Art of Wood-engraving in Italy in the Fifteenth Century.* By FRIEDRICH LIPPMANN. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1888.
2. *English Illustration: The Sixties.* By GLEESON WHITE. Archibald Constable & Co. 1897.
3. *Western Flanders: a Medley of Things Seen, Considered, and Imagined.* By LAURENCE BINYON. With ten etchings by WILLIAM STRANG. London: At the Sign of the Unicorn. 1899.

I.

IN viewing the fitful progress of art, constantly alternating between times of stagnation or suspense and the awakened realisation of a new summons to work, we are astonished at the suddenness and brief duration of its energetic moods, hardly outlasting a single generation. At the beginning of the half-century immediately behind us there arose one of those periods of awakened activity. The passionate outburst of Gothicism, slowly waning, had become insincere from a gradual loss of conviction, and its vitality was distracted by the newer ideas germinating from within. Complex from its birth, the new movement was both an attempt to infuse a more serious and deeper spirit into the mediævalism of the older school, and an effort to quicken it with the warmth of real life, as well as an aggressive revolt from tradition to nature. The Greek, followed by the Gothic revivals, had filled the minds of the previous generation with an imaginative love for the past which dominated the young men of fifty years ago. This scholarly learning tended to a more exact and literal rendering of the mediæval atmosphere in the imagery and even technique of pictorial art, although qualified by a somewhat unexpected assertion of modernity; it extended also to a fuller appreciation of the need for ornamental and decorative fitness, which quickly affected the illustration of books.

The influence of this new seriousness is brought before us in the exhibition lately opened at the South Kensington Museum. The authorities, as a sequel to their former exhibition of lithographs, now show progressive examples of reproduction, applied to books and magazines, beginning with the woodcuts executed after the year 1850, and passing to the latest photographic processes used by modern printers, thus exhibiting side by side, for critical analysis, notable specimens of the most time-honoured and newest methods of reproductive art.

As we contemplate the printed book and its decoration, the mind inevitably reverts to the achievements of the Italian printers towards the close of the fifteenth century, when Italy glorified and exalted the arts to a supremacy unknown in the world since the time of Praxiteles. The printers then impressed their pages with the incomparable charm of that time, and year by year, for the space of a generation, every new book bore the trace of that fervid vitality, only possible to men who work during the first heat of inventive production. In an incredibly short time the master-printers acquired a consummate skill in the technicalities of their craft, and were able to vie with the exquisite manuscripts of older times. It was inevitable that the written works should at first dominate the efforts of the printers ; and it is to the golden pages of the manuscripts that we must look for the suggestions of type and ornament, both the flowered borders and initial letters being derived from the illuminator's art.

Where or how the art of wood-engraving originated is uncertain, but if the printing of textile fabrics with patterns cut upon wooden blocks was an industry practised by Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and their successors from time immemorial, the stamping of impressions upon vellum or paper was a transition both obvious and easy. For at least a quarter of a century before the invention of printed books wood-engraving had been in vogue as a separate art, especially in Germany, where the popular demand for sets of Bible-prints no doubt led to the ultimate manufacture of type ; it soon acquired a certain traditional status and an elementary technique from these coarsely cut pictures, however inferior to the richly wrought illuminations of the miniature painters. From its primary limitations woodcutting is essentially a restricted art, and when executed with the knife alone it is a far more cumbersome process, and has always occupied a lower place in the minds of artists, than engraving on copper. The facility with which the copper may be incised with a sharp-pointed instrument makes that form of engraving almost as easy as drawing upon paper with a pen, and the possibility of attaining the most delicate finish has attracted the talents of the most fastidious workmen. To the old woodcutter there were no such advantages ; the very mode of obtaining the printed impression was exactly the reverse of that from a copper plate. All the printed lines are the imprint from the uncut surface of the wood, and the blank or white spaces are the hollow cavities,

cut away with the knife. Thus he works according to an inverted system, and loses the impetus involved in a more direct method of drawing. Like the mezzotinter, his block, when untouched, yields a black impression, and in the nature of things the woodcut ought to incline to blackness, a character always preserved in a mezzotint. And since economy of work is an important factor in the developement of technique, it follows that the effect most easily obtained by the woodcutter is that of the ploughed line, which would show on the print as white upon a black ground. But, owing to the fact that the woodcutter's design was drawn upon the block with a pen, it became the established custom to follow the character of pen-work. And from the earliest times the woodcuts present a large surface of white, with the subject outlined rather sparingly in black. The Florentine engravers used the black surface of the wood more than any other school, and there are many exquisite initial letters, borders, and portraits everywhere cut upon a black ground.

It is generally agreed that, with certain doubtful exceptions, Italian woodcuts have been the work of two hands — the draughtsman, who drew upon the block, and the engraver, who cut it. There were thus created in the fifteenth century two distinct crafts, extensively practised at Venice and Florence, and other cities of Italy, where a printing-press flourished. This circumstance, which so largely affects the artistic value of woodcuts, is worthy of serious attention, as it is manifest that the work of the greatest master drawn upon the wood, unless he cut it himself, would be liable to destruction by an unskilful engraver. On the other hand, a delicate and subtle drawing could only be reproduced by a man who was so highly sensitive to its finer qualities and so sure of hand that he would be entitled to claim a large share of the credit due to their combined efforts. In other words, such an engraver is an artist, in the second degree, it is true, but none the less potent in the final stage of the block. There are many people who attempt to distinguish between technique and expression in a work of art, but it is more than questionable whether such a distinction is ever permissible. Here the expression of one man's drawing must be translated, not only by a technique essentially dissimilar to that of the design, but by a different brain and hand. Mere dexterity and mechanical skill cannot produce that delightful vigour of line, and the freshness of touch, common to the best illustrations of the Italian books. The craftsman whose hand gave finality to the work, either

making or marring it, is certainly responsible for the prints as they stand. To him was left the difficult and momentous task of giving the right and precise finish to every stroke of the drawing, and the last turn to the line. As the use of graving-tools developed, the woodcutter conceded less to the draughtsman, and a distinct engraver's manner, marked by the characteristic feeling for sound workmanship peculiar to the age, became more pronounced. Even in the ruder cuts, where the drawing and expression are absurdly faulty, the lines are almost invariably cut with a perceptible deference to technical laws, and the proper exercise of the knife. So that, in spite of an almost grotesque barbarity, we are struck by a certain correct exactitude in the handling which it is impossible not to respect.

Their particular methods of cutting the wood led the artists to adopt one of the simplest, and yet most subtle, modes of making a picture—that of pure outline. They set themselves to discover the secret of perfect beauty enclosed within the compass of a line! The contour of every object and figure, in relation to the intervals and blank spaces, was composed like the architectural consonances of a Greek temple, with an effect like that produced by the Phidian sculptures on the Parthenon. These outline-drawings, intended to decorate the pages of books as well as illustrate the text, were necessarily somewhat abstract, and the fewness of parts in their structure enabled the artist to perfect their forms with the taste inherited from a long ancestry of noble workers in many arts. This abstract or decorative quality of the woodcuts reacted upon their illustrative function. For, considered as an artistic adjunct to a book, they are primarily an adornment to the type, passing into the decorative scheme of the page. No doubt this subordination of the picture to a decorative end rather detracts from its intrinsic importance and lowers it to a minor rank. Yet how admirably the artists have impressed the essence of the Italian Renaissance on the pages of their books! At their best these small pictures, although so slightly wrought, are singularly eloquent and expressive, every stroke being laid with an instinctive recognition of its value in the composition and appropriate to the subject. Out of the romantic ideal of classicalism the spirit of Greece reissued, less skilfully, perhaps, but with enough of its old beauty to make the Botticelli *Dante*, the *Malermi* Bible, the 'Metamorphoses' of Ovid, and the 'Poliphilo,' memorable amongst the interesting things of the world. In the

Italian Bible published by Nicolai Malermi the re-born Hellenism, grafted upon and blended with the Gothic traditions of a millennium, looks rather polite and unchristian in its regeneration, but in secular and classical works the Greek myths are drawn without reservation and with evident zest. Seen from afar the vision of God-haunted streams, and groves sacred to nymphs and fauns, lent wings to the imagination and agreeably replaced the more sombre legends of the Goths. It was to be expected that the supreme opportunity for illustration, afforded by Dante's 'Divine Comedy' would have evoked a masterpiece of the woodcutter's art. Sandro Botticelli grasped the possibilities of the task and seized the occasion to make his fine series of designs, which were partly engraved on copper, for the Florentine edition of 1481. But no other artist followed in his steps, and no publisher adequately reproduced his drawings. Mr. Lippmann suggests that Dante's readers were satisfied with mere diagrams, to assist the memory in finding special lines or passages which were annotated in this manner. Whatever purpose the cuts may have fulfilled, it is certain that the designers of the cuts in all subsequent editions were insensible to the calls of a poem to which they ought to have devoted their highest and most strenuous endeavours.

The 'Decamerone' of Boccaccio, published in 1492, may be taken to exemplify the form of a Venetian book popular amongst all classes of society. Neither the subject nor the typography claims our most serious attention, but both exhibit the fashionable taste of the Renaissance, and the woodcuts, if not of first-rate quality or importance, occasionally accentuate the amusement of the reader and reflect the colour and spirit of the stories. Besides the small designs which are scattered throughout the text, there is an exceptionally charming cut repeated at the head of each book, rendering in a poetic and conventional manner the garden in which the romantic setting of the piece is laid. The most notable ornament of the volume, however, is the frontispiece or title-page, a particularly beautiful decorative design containing a picture of the seven ladies and three gentlemen of the company, symmetrically seated in a woody retreat, listening to the strains of a lute and viol, played by Pamphilo and Fiametta. Around the seat is a high enclosure of trellis-work, entwined with climbing plants, and bent at the centre into an arched alley with a vista of landscape in the distance. On the surrounding trees, birds, perched on

the boughs, sing in vehement sympathy with the music, while a rabbit shyly nibbles the grass on the lawn. The architectural border is a work of great taste and invention, reflecting the best features of the Renaissance at its vital period. It is saying much for the merit of these cuts that they call up so real an atmosphere of Italian romance, and, by such slight means, should convey an impression of the arcadian dressings of Boccaccio's *fête galante*. It is easy to imagine the whispering voices of lovers in that embowered alley, the delicious reveries in the drowsy air, and the round of pleasures which could kill the memory of the outer plague-stricken world by a barrier of blossoming rose-trees and summer verdure.

The artistic ideal, which craved for happiness and a beautiful seclusion to screen from view the sin and ugly misery of life, is somewhat differently expressed in the '*Hypnerotomachia*', the highest achievement and glory of Venetian printing. Criticism is unanimous in its praise of the 172 woodcuts of this beautiful folio, published by Aldus Manutius in the last year of the fifteenth century. As a book it is perhaps the most complete embodiment of the artistic spirit of the Renaissance, displaying an astonishing profusion of classic imagery, an encyclopædic insight into architectural technicalities, a boundless wealth of ornamentation, which enrich its pages with the plenitude of a veritable cornucopia. Its exuberance and versatility, both in description and drawing, are delightfully stimulating, from their double appeal to the mind and the eye. In its construction the allegory is frankly unreal; the shadowy creation of a dream, it imitates the usual method of the romancers; its impossible scenes being laid in an ideal world, a world full of dark and terrible caves, dragons, deadly whirlpools, and mazes, agreeably relieved by the intrusion of sweet and delicate nymphs. The foreground is usually a delicious garden or summer landscape, with a stately pile of the most exquisite architecture always in view; temples, pyramids, palaces, obelisks, and sculpture are lavishly described and portrayed with minute and masterly knowledge. The animation and beauty of 'this elaborate setting, engaging most of our attention, minimise the didactic incidents of the story, which relates the symbolic pilgrimage of a lover through the region of the grosser passions to a more perfect estate, reached by an improving but tedious course of morality.'

The genius of the illustrator has gone out in rare sympathy with the author, inspiring the woodcuts with an

inherent excellence hitherto unattained in a printed book, and reveals the fine connoisseurship of an imaginative scholar who has arrived at the full appreciation of nature and art. Closely following the text they make visible the architectural accessories and embellishments of the author's visionary land, amply gratifying Poliphilo's impassioned quest for beauty. To be in a perpetual glow of æsthetic admiration for some new-found treasure seems to be part of his spiritual purgation, and his pilgrimage being mostly out of doors, the art is that of the garden—that is, the fenced and walled garden of the middle ages, Romanised and enlarged to spacious dimensions. Nowhere is the Italian garden, with its caprices, its fantastic contrivances, and formal dignity, conceived with such taste and invention as here. And if Colonna's fancy has outrun the simplicity of nature's handiwork, those trees clipped in the form of peacocks and quaint figures, the terraces and parterres, the courts and fountains, the effigies of Pan and other gods of the garden, ranged on their terminal shafts, standing against hedges of yew or briar rose, and all the properties of an architectural plan, are the fitting background for the display of his enchanting nymphs and Poliphilo's singular adventures. Nature is thus artificially presented as part of the invention and design of the dream, according to the fashion set long ago by the classical and mediæval poets. But rarely do we find the harmony of the upper and lower world more complete, or the voices and shapes of nature so perfectly blended with a responsive art. Both in serious and frivolous things there is unity and adjustment; the lace and decorations of beautiful dresses have their counterpart in the embroidery of the flower beds and the trimmings of the 'sculptured evergreens'; there is music in the harmonic structure of pillar and arch, and in obedience to art, all natural things are moulded and constrained to the rules of poetry. *

No edition of a classical author had been so finely illustrated before that of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses,' printed at Venice in 1497. Mr. Lippmann devotes many pages to this book, but we cannot think that he has established the identity of the artist who cut the blocks signed *ia*, though it cannot be doubted that he is correct in assigning the initials to the engraver, whether he was the designer or not, since there is a recognisable uniformity of style in all the prints bearing this monogram. It is from the work of the master *ia* that the book derives its chief value, for the other wood-

cuts are unequal, and generally of less merit. With his late and florid style Ovid was sympathetically read by the scholars of the Renaissance, and his elaborate descriptions, often pictorial in their details, are of a kind likely to suggest to the illustrator a literal rendering of an episode ; but the artists of the 'Metamorphoses' freely depart from the minute particulars of the stories and adapt the subject to the severe conventions of their drawing. On the reverse of folio xxvi there is a picture of Herse worshipping with a company of virgins before the statue of Pallas, whilst Hermes, poised overhead, looks down enamoured of her beauty. The fane of the Athenian goddess is merely a circular enclosure surrounded by a low wall, with a tower opposite the statue, and makes no pretence to a Greek form, but is exquisitely simple. Nor does the palace which occupies the other half of the design more exactly conform to its description in the poem, where it is said to be decked with ivory and tortoise-shell ; yet the simplicity of treatment is both charming and poetic. Again, on folio lx there is a cut of Florentine character depicting the loom of Arachne, the ' maid of lowly birth whose art was all her fame.' She is eagerly at work upon the marvellous web which she dared to weave in rivalry with Athene and to embroider with the guilty loves of the gods. Foredoomed to vengeance, she suffered insulting blows from her envious rival, and, filled with indignation, 'twined the suicidal knot around her neck, 'and so had died. But as she hung some ruth stirred in 'Minerva's breast.' Her life was spared, but changed by fate and formed of smallest size, with slenderest legs, 'her body but a bag whence still she draws the filmy threads, 'and, with her ancient art, weaves the fine meshes of her 'spider's web.' The woodcut does not express all this, but it is a graceful and not unimaginative picture, showing three incidents of the story grouped in one composition.

In these books the cuts are a humbler reflex of the supreme work of Leonardo, Mantegna and the great masters of painting, imperfectly drawn and only partly realised, but reasserting that taste in less gifted men which was one of the innate faculties of the age, possessed ingoluntarily by all. Beautifully outlined, with a predominance of white, the designs seem to portray a life without shadows ; all is broad sunshine, with a conventional blackness to save monotony and adjust the composition to our eyes, habituated to the constant change of night and day. Trees and distant hills are often shown in the most delicate perspective. The

animals are always lifelike, and the figures have the grave and remote abstraction consistent with a purely decorative treatment; but occasionally the face and gesture are more emotional and the drawing of the features and limbs becomes more intensified, particularly in the ephemeral literature of Florence, where tracts, popular ballads, dramatic legends, and trifles were decorated with small woodcuts of surpassing beauty. In its strength the art of woodcutting in Italy lasted for ten years, culminating during the last decade of the fifteenth century. After that there was little advance in the art.

II.

To return to the exhibition at South Kensington and review the illustrations posterior to the middle of the nineteenth century is to stand face to face with a new and enlarged phase of the woodcutter's art, which is chiefly traceable to the influences first manifested by the formation of the pre-Raphaelite brotherhood and the publication of '*The Germ*' in 1850. From that beginning a school of artists arose, able to remould the listless methods of their contemporaries and to stimulate them with a freer, better impulse. Without doubt it was the prolific and masterly mind of Rossetti which evolved the ideas centred in the pre-Raphaelite movement, and from it emanated the practical improvements attempted in the decorative and minor crafts. His genius and immense personal influence were the strongest force at the outset of the movement, and, in spite of repeated assertions to the contrary, his dominant will and predilections are recognisable in all the early designs of the period. The other men drew inspiration from the abundance of his gifts, which overflowed and passed into their minds. Even beside Millais, Rossetti was a giant, and the intellectual strength of his intensely developed nature far overtopped the less talented of his associates. A man so largely endowed was born to lead and to be the idol of his circle, exerting a lasting fascination upon all who came within his reach. He swayed the aspirations of the group, till by degrees the movement spread outwards, and, casting off the mystic vestments of its germinating years, it became frankly naturalistic, recording in the ardent spirit of its inception, the surroundings and manners of contemporary life.

None of the artists of the brotherhood had Rossetti's

scholarly insight into the past, and it was he, at that time, who endeavoured to restore the symbolic significance of antiquity to modern art. As he conceived it, the function of the artist, though primarily aesthetic, only fulfils its object when an enhanced imagery is added to real things. But the current criticism of his day, and an innovating revolt from tradition, tended to falsify the intellectual basis of mythology. The mystic allegories of the Greek poets or schoolmen of the Middle Ages, although plainly the outcome of the symbolic usages of an early age, were turned into mere literal folk-tales, which had somehow 'grown' in childish and superstitious minds, till in time they came to be repeated in good faith as the truth. The legends of Arthur and the Grail and other mythological stories, were re-written, bereft of their profounder sense, by poets unversed in the subtle unfolding of an allegorical romance. Without divining more than a vague insight into its meaning, Rossetti's scholarship detected this much—that there was such a thing as mysticism. He knew that colours meant something to the old masters, and laboriously drew a thread of meaning from the torn shreds of the early symbolical language, and wove it into the texture of his mythological pictures.

Moxon's *Tennyson*, one of the first books illustrated by members of the brotherhood, clearly accentuates the two aspects of the school—the mystical headed by Rossetti, and the naturalistic slowly developing in Millais. Both the newness and power of the illustrations are immediately conspicuous, lending a fresh enchantment and extension to the meaning of the poems, in a manner unknown at that time. They are, in fact, the independent interpretations of other minds reconceiving the poet's intention, and refashioning it, refined or strengthened by a romantic or allegorised representation. Such is Rossetti's design for 'The Palace of 'Art,' a creation rather of his own brain than of the poem, yet perfectly in accord with the images which the words call up. We are told by Mr. W. M. Rossetti that the St. Cecilia 'puzzled Tennyson not a little, and he had to give 'up the problem of what it had to do with his work.' Rossetti was too masterful to make a submissive illustrator of other people's poems; his mind, brimming over with images of its own coining, inevitably sought to transcend the simpler meaning of the text rather than subordinate his fancy to it. The 'St. Agnes' Eve,' by Millais, is a conception made partly symbolic, and shows one of the pre-Raphaelite modes of work without intricacy of thought or

profusion of incidental things. It is as though the artist had seized upon a figurative expression in the poem, and rendered his whole design by a figure. A white-robed girl is climbing up the convent stairs, with a burning candle in her hand. But we unconsciously feel that she typifies the star to which she is likened in the poem, and which she prays the bridegroom shall draw to himself and his own brightness. The 'Mariana,' again, also by Millais, is the literal presentation of a grief-stricken woman, intensely real and beautifully drawn; it exhibits his divergence to the final manner of his after-life. 'The Wind is Blowing from Turret and Tree' shows a more imaginative treatment. We see a dark keep looming mysteriously in the gloom, the trees are bending before the wind, and the clouds are swept across the face of the moon; it is an impressive and haunting picture.

It was rather by his influence than by actual performance that Rossetti ranks as one of the chief illustrators of his time. His style of drawing was ever a stumbling block to the engravers, which soon discouraged him from further efforts. So henceforth the destinies of book-illustration were centred in the personality of Millais, who ultimately gained an easy supremacy in the art. In his early youth he had been distracted and drawn to activities foreign to his character, and only by degrees found his true self and his inevitable vocation. Whilst under the domination of Rossetti he had affected an adherence to the principles of the early masters, but a wiser instinct now impelled him to go direct to the font of nature, and to draw from its abundance. What he had before learnt from the primitive painters with an effort, he now discovered to be everywhere around him ready for use. Keenly affected by persons and things, rather than dreams or ideals, the sentiment of romantic realism came to him as a revelation unconsciously, and unsought. His early essays in symbolic and mystic imagery only show that such a mode of expression was unnatural to his cast of mind and conventional education. The double vision of the symbolist, seeking an image to represent a thing, reverses the order of the realist, who is content to deepen the reality of his episode with a faint glamour of inward influences.

As his naturalistic bent increased, Millais gradually severed himself from the more exclusive aspirations of his early associates, whose aloofness from the world visibly reacted on their art, and turned to the commoner passions and

feelings of his age for the subjects of his pen. The most trivial domestic incident in one of Anthony Trollope's novels was a sufficient theme for a drawing astonishing for its sympathy and seriousness. By an art so simple that it eludes definition, he was able to conjure up a picture of life, minutely truthful, yet always distinguished by that spell of romance which transfigured and glorified his conceptions. We are touched by the real devotion of his lovers, by the tenderness of his women, the cares and pains of common life, and we feel their higher significance, when done thus sincerely, and lifted above all taint of vulgarity. His first design to Allingham's poems was published when he was twenty-five years old, and almost all his other illustrations were done during the next ten years. Being more sympathetic towards the world and men, he kept much more closely to the text in his illustrations than Rossetti. His imaginations followed the thought of the author faithfully and literally, while retaining an inherent spirituality which was his own. The sensitive and responsive chords in his nature enabled him to feel the situations which he drew with a vivid force, which strikes us anew with admiration every time we look at the brilliant achievements of his pen. Without effort and with perfect mastery he accomplished a miracle in almost every page he illustrated. The strength which he possessed from nature alone enabled him to abandon himself with absolute confidence to the instinct of the moment, knowing that his pen could only create the line of beauty.

The illustrator, who must, of course, follow his story, is to some extent the product of the literary taste of his time; and by their adoption of realism as the determining principle of their work, Millais and his immediate followers, Houghton, Pinwell and Walker, were in perfect sympathy with the novelists of the day, and their illustration is a sincere yet eulogistic comment upon contemporary life, outwardly and inwardly conforming to the appointments and accessories, the aspirations and ideals of the Victorian age. Millais never attempted to minimise the unshapely clumsiness of the chairs and furniture of the period, and, strange to say, their ugliness does not lessen the charm of the prints; indeed, we are confronted with an exquisite and fastidious art existing amidst the basest outward surroundings. The smoky factories, the railway stations, the grimy dwellings of the poor, the anæsthetic decorations, and all that Mr. Ruskin deplored, never deterred, or reacted upon

the artists who worked under their shadow. Even the illustrations of popular magazines, with their popular art, are tinged with an enthusiasm no less affecting to us than to the readers of that time. ‘Once a Week’ inaugurated the higher artistic aims in magazines of the period. The excellence of its illustrations appears to have been a matter of accident—the accident of a man of genius coming forward to draw what middle-class opinion could admire. How rarely this accident happens! A man of great gifts able to please the multitude is so uncommon that cautious people refuse to believe in him. Yet Millais’s genius contributed to the popularity of ‘Once a Week,’ and incidentally conferred immortality upon its pages. For the first time in England journalistic art became distinguished—in the ‘Cornhill Magazine,’ in ‘Good Words,’ and even in obscure journals for Sunday reading, there was to be found for a brief season a wholly beautiful art. To say that every aspect of common life is the subject of these woodcuts is true, but misleading. For who, without seeing them, could realise the fascination, or the intensely emotional force presented in these everyday incidents? For instance, many of Millais’s most touching scenes are laid in bedrooms, as ‘Was it a Lie?’ in the ‘Cornhill Gallery’ series. The young lady in a magnificent flounced skirt, who has thrown herself down upon her bed, with her face half-buried in the pillow in shame and contrition, makes a superb picture. And that parting called ‘Last Words,’ where a young man, sitting at the bedside, holds the hand of a dying youth in both of his, with a rapt and awe-struck face, is inexpressibly solemn and pathetic. Then, in an illustration to ‘Orley Farm,’ we see ‘Lady Mason after her Confession,’ sitting on a bed in a beautiful posture. She wears a very wide skirt and a shawl tightly drawn under her chin, and is a touching picture of a woman numb with cold and sorrow.* Millais rarely failed to reproduce the charm of the crinoline, and in the print of ‘Miss Dunstable,’ in the ‘Cornhill Gallery,’ the great beauty and grace of the full skirt is admirably drawn, and when we look at some of his men, as in the next illustration, we even lose the vulgar contempt for whiskers.

All admirers of Arthur Boyd Houghton, the brilliant illustrator of the ‘Arabian Nights,’ are indebted to Mr. Housman* for his book of prints, and the discriminating and

* Arthur Boyd Houghton: a Selection from his Work in Black

scholarly appreciation of Houghton's genius which accompanies them. Few people will demur to Mr. Housman's judgement that, next to Millais, Houghton was the most distinguished draughtsman of his day. His original drawings at South Kensington are of consummate interest, being infinitely finer than the woodcutter's transcripts. Had he been an etcher we see how great would have been his achievement, and how great our gain. Three of the drawings exhibited are for the story of the 'Enchanted Horse' in the 'Arabian Nights.' The first design, representing the Indian who owned the magical horse prostrating himself before the King of Persia, is incomparably delicate and subtle, and presented an impossible task to the engraver. In another design imagination is swept along by the speed of the wonderful horse flying through space. The prince and princess, so lightly borne, are depicted with all the realisation of their strange position, breathing the rarefied air above the clouds, and looking down upon the misty peaks of the unenchanted world. Again there is the princess in captivity in the palace of the Sultan of Cashmere. She has been singing a song of mourning for her lover. And we are not without pity when we look at the languor and sadness of this beautiful Eastern woman, imprisoned, not in a squalid cell, but seated on the softest cushions by the side of a plashing fountain of fretted and inlaid marble. Amidst furniture of ivory and sandal-wood, flowers and aromatic herbs, and gorgeous embroideries, her head droops pensively, as she dreams of flight from her golden cage. But the most casual reader of the 'Arabian Nights' does not grieve long for heroines in distress, as he knows that their lovers are sure to come in the disguise of a physician or otherwise, and carry them off to an endless happiness.

Pinwell, with scarcely less distinction, drew the portraiture of his own time in a graceful and varied manner. The interior of a Paris pawnshop or a drawing-room filled with well-bred people are drawn with the same success and feeling. Frederick Walker's designs are also very numerous, and have always been popular. A few of those in the 'Cornhill Gallery' show him at his best, and are valuable memorials of his art.

Of the literature, already extensive, relating to the woodcuts of 'the sixties,' the late Mr. Gleeson White's work probably contains the most comprehensive and useful information as to the books and periodicals of the period, and the artists who illustrated them. He has discussed the subject from the collector's point of view, and his compilation appears to have been designed as a handbook for intending purchasers of the prints. There is a large amount of indiscriminate advice addressed to 'the new collector'—peace be with him!—but we can hardly suppose that the old collector would profit much by the well-meant hints about pasteboard boxes and brown-paper mounts, to say nothing of the ingenuous connoisseurship, which declares that the 'Cornhill Gallery' may one day be as valuable as the 'Liber Studiorum,' or that one of Dalziel's woodcuts after Millais is comparable to a fine etching by Rembrandt.

Absurd though such pronouncements may be, it is a question of immediate interest to try to estimate the precise value of these prints. The work of so charming and unique a phase of English art certainly ought to be preserved, and it is but an act of justice to rescue the brilliant illustrations of Millais from the unlovely surroundings of a cheap periodical, and treasure them in a portfolio. But to suggest that, when thus rescued, these hurriedly printed impressions on the cheapest paper are to be compared with an etching from the press of Rembrandt, wrought and finished from first to last by his own hand, is to throw critical judgement to the winds. Perhaps the simplest evidence of their relative merits is to be seen in the valuations of an etching by Mr. Whistler, and one of his designs engraved on the wood for 'Once a Week' or 'Good Words.' There is, and can be, no difference of opinion as to the immense superiority of the etching, direct from the master's hand.

The subtleties involved in the printing of a plate are known to every connoisseur, and its brilliancy and tone are equally affected by the quality of the paper and the ink. In the case of the 'Cornhill Magazine,' the plates are not woodcuts at all. The engraved blocks were electrotyped, and the impressions in the ordinary issue were printed from the metal casts—a practice which was probably adopted by the proprietors of other journals. The claims of the 'Cornhill 'Gallery' are very different, and are without parallel amongst similar publications of the time. Here the publishers issued a series of 100 proofs of the woodcuts

which had appeared in the Magazine up to the year 1864, on fine paper. Being carefully printed from the unused wood blocks, the best impressions fulfil the most exacting demands of the collector, and there are probably two dozen prints of a quality which would satisfy the most fastidious eye, and would not look unworthy if compared with a few contemporary etchings of repute. Unhappily such profanities as Lord Leighton's 'Pan' and other specimens of lesser evil make the collection as a whole impossible, except for antiquarian purposes.

When Rossetti and Millais and the new school of illustrators began to draw upon the wood blocks, they endeavoured to obtain an exact reproduction of their drawings line for line, and showed little or no regard for the woodcutter, who thus became merged in the personality of the draughtsman, losing his old status and even his identity. Henceforth woodcuts became more and more imitative, causing a change in their character almost as far-reaching as when it was ascertained in the previous century that a block cut across the grain could be worked upon with the graver. Before that time all the woodcuts had been done with the knife upon blocks cut plankswise, Bewick being one of the first Englishmen who used the graver upon wood.

By this mixed technique, with its largely increased resources, there arose the means of interpreting the sentiment of a more varied and expressive form of drawing. Without the use of the graver the picture was restricted by many conventions, often charming in themselves, and capable of being turned to artistic account, but cramping and narrowing the scope of the work. And, however attractive the early woodcuts are, it must be confessed that the finer productions of the craftsmen of forty years ago rank higher in all respects than those of their predecessors. The realistic feeling of the age is seen to stir the hand of the engraver to a new power in the delineation of light and colour, to a nearer and more exact apprehension of gesture and attitude, combined with a larger knowledge and deeper human insight, conferring upon their work a sentiment above and beyond the abstract formula which was so delightfully rendered in the fifteenth century. The inward significance of corporeal shapes was now attainable by the refinements of the new technique. The lineaments of subtle emotions, the depths of misery or abasement in the lines of a face, the glance of an eye, the turn of a limb are all expressed by the dexterous stroke of graver or knife. As an

art woodcutting was thus brought abreast of the age and takes an honourable place beside the artistic achievements of the time. And when we remember that the pen-drawing on the wood was often washed and elaborated with pencil or crayon, giving it a luminous richness of tone which could only be reproduced in the printed impression by pure black lines, it was incumbent upon the woodcutter to use his own taste and feeling in translating these qualities to the block. Only a trained artist of fine sympathy and with command of considerable executive powers could adequately do this. Yet it is constantly done in the woodcuts of the sixties, in a manner truly masterly. There are examples of textures very exquisitely transferred to the wood, and occasionally an extreme beauty of line which is evidently of the engraver's selecting.

The engravers, to whose energies much of this improvement is attributable, appear to have carried on their vocation in the old traditional manner. Most of the blocks dating from the middle of the nineteenth century bear the names of Dalziel or Swain; like the master-printers of Italy they kept a staff of artists who worked impersonally, without individual acknowledgement or credit for their pains. The brothers Dalziel were themselves engravers, and by working with their men, as nearly as possible realised the relations existing in early times between the printer and his fellow-artists.

Usually the woodcuts are treated as the work of the designer only, but it must never be forgotten that they owe their completion to another's skill. Nor should we forget that the cutting of a block is more than a mechanical operation; for its excellence implies that intimate blending of expression with technique so closely related and bound up in one another, that we cannot easily understand the customary laxity which admits of their separation. The beauty of a work of art is an inherent condition of the technicalities required to evolve it, and upon them it is dependent for all that makes it ultimately valuable. Recognising this, we see that the woodcutters of the 'sixties' had caught a reflexion of that lucid force which pervaded the art of Millais and his contemporaries; and to these anonymous workmen, unhonoured and unknown, who have laboured for our delight, our grateful thanks are due.

III.

The last phase of the pre-Raphaelite influence upon books has been the almost simultaneous appearance of the Kelmscott and Vale Presses about ten years ago. Conforming in style and aim to the works of the early master-printers, they are the outcome of the bygone scholarliness to which Rossetti gave the initial impetus. The varied talents of William Morris had been applied to many arts before he decided to become a printer of decorated books, and this his final labour may be supposed to exhibit the ripe experiences of his life. The Kelmscott Press was, doubtless, an effort towards a realisation of that noble dream of democracy which stirred Morris and the small band of English Socialists who gathered round him as their artistic leader. It was also a part of the dream of a nobler and lovelier past, wherein the workman had not yet lost his dignity and his ancient manual skill. Granting that a book is the work of many hands, Morris looked back to a time when the compositor wrought patterns with his type, which in its turn had been beautified by the founder, and the illustrator, submitting to his fellow-craftsmen, gave the crowning lustre to the pages, which were then sewn together and passed to the binder, who completed the harmony within by a corresponding beauty without.

Eager to emulate the example of the great printers in every respect, he early recognised the need for the best materials and the application of sound and honest workmanship to his books. His eye was naturally offended at the worthless articles commonly used by the modern publisher, and he at once sat about the manufacture of a hand-made paper, of fine texture, thin, pure, tough, and crisp to the touch like the sheets of an early printed book. He took the same care with the cutting and founding of his type, and for the making of his ink, and even revived the charming practice of printing upon vellum. But these, the elementary verities of true craftsmanship, though learned from the past, belong to all ages, and have nothing to do with the artificial mediævalism of his mind, which gave the pseudo-antiquity to his literature as well as to his handicraft.

It is one thing to make an idol of a visionary past, and to receive back an echo of that exaltation of spirit aroused by vehement admiration; it is another thing to lose the power of invention by imitating its cramping limitations and formalities. Mediæval art was too robust and self-

relian to be weakened by the mere reversion to a pagan theme. The poets and artists, with the ardour characteristic of expansive natures, drew new strength from classical imagery, without being absorbed by it. And ultimately at the Renaissance, when all men succumbed to a culture which they discovered to be higher and broader than their own, they never in their most servile abasement dreamt of reviving the inferior things of the ancient world.

Having none of the inventive faculties essential to the artist, who can give fresh expression to the current forces of contemporary life, the art of William Morris leads to a *cul de sac*. He walked with his eyes behind him, and his books produce the same lassitude of spirit which we feel when dining in a room hung with conscientious copies of Leonardo, Raphael and Correggio. The co-operating sympathy and help of his friend Burne-Jones scarcely lessened the decadent tendency of their work. Even more than Morris, who had been largely inspired by the wholesome teaching of Ruskin, Burne-Jones drew a lifelong inspiration from Rossetti. The design for the 'Maids of Elfenmere,' published in Allingham's 'Music Master,' 1855, was the first revelation of that visionary land of fable and romance which became ever afterwards the theme of his art. A manner so strange as Rossetti's might have been supposed to have given it the isolation of a personal idiosyncrasy, yet it was reverently perpetuated by Burne-Jones, and the pre-Raphaelite formula appeared in his work, narrowed and rarefied to the semblance of a dream, but faintly related to that imaginative past which the master-touch of Rossetti had contrived to humanise with the glow of reality.

The woodcuts of the Kelmscott Press, no less than the tapestry from Morris's looms, are the art of the pattern-maker. Looked at from a certain distance the specimen-page from the 'Chaucer,' exhibited at South Kensington, immediately attracts by its wonderful excellence of form. But look closer; examine the picture apart from its border and you will look in vain for the qualities conspicuous in the naturalistic school of the 'sixties.' The technique of this stately book is inexpressibly dull, possibly from the ineptitude of the engravers; the line is dead and hard, and every wood-cut, instead of being as a jewel to which the border is a fair setting, is but the part of a device, flowered or figured with well-disposed lines. Since the engravers of the 'sixties' had raised the technicalities of wood-engraving to a higher pitch of excellence than any of their predecessors, it was a retro-

grade step to revive the ruder methods and shortcomings of an art long hampered by archaic conventions. A primitive manner, however charming and inevitable in the early years of a newly invented craft, is obviously unpardonable in the work of a mature epoch. During its childish years we can make allowances for certain awkward, conventional artifices which are offered as a substitute for real drawing. But at a time when the arts are seeking to render a more sensitive and delicate presentation of form, we cannot easily accept an archaism which stops short where the final expression of this higher art begins. The going back to antiquity is thus a sign of decadence, and was so even in the fifteenth century, for the Renaissance with all its vigour was also the waning of Italy's power.

It is curious in face of his own practice to find the originator of the Kelmscott Press, and the ardent advocate of a Gothic revival in architecture, complaining of the pedantry and artistic degradation of the Renaissance, as if it were a more culpable pedantry to revive Hellenism than Gothicism. Unless he is being led into an unconscious inconsistency, there must be a moral distinction between Greek and mediæval art which would justify the revival of the latter, in preference to the former. It is difficult to justify the pedantry of reviving a past style at all, but it is much more difficult to discover that classic art is all vice, while that of the middle ages is all virtue. After a prolonged taste of all the schools in succession, an old definition of classicalism made by Michael Angelo appears to show how futile these contentions and revivals are. To him classicalism meant simply excellence, that fastidious care for perfection which is neither temporal nor local, but grows amongst men whose senses, naturally attuned to beauty, are of finer discriminating powers than others. Such were the Greeks, Romans, Italians, and the modern European schools since the Renaissance, but it is only at its best, as in its architecture, that Gothic art deserves to rank as classical. After declaring that the Dutch or German paintings, from their prettiness and sentimental emotion, appeal most to old women and young girls, ecclesiastics, nuns, and people of quality who have no feeling for the true harmony of a masterpiece, Michael Angelo continues :

'The works that come from Italy can alone be called genuine works of art. Italian art, therefore, is true art. If they painted thus elsewhere, the art might equally well be denominated after the land where it is thus executed. . . . Even Albert Dürer, a master who works

with such skill and delicacy of feeling, when he wished to paint something which should deceive us as to its having been executed in Italy, could still paint nothing in which I could not observe at once that it neither came from Italy nor from an Italian artist. . . . We feel at once the difference. Our art is that of ancient Greece; not because it is somewhat Italian, but because it is good and correct. . . . Art belongs to no land; it comes from heaven. We, however, possess it; for nowhere has the old empire left such distinct traces of its glory as with us; and with us I believe true art will set.'

Biased though it may seem to some minds, we cannot but think that this praise of the Hellenic spirit, as the abstract and everlasting manifestation of beauty, is saner, and the result of a finer taste, than that of William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones. The whole trend of the Kelmscott craftsmanship is too much in a contrary direction, and has no part in the best aim and accomplishment of modern times. But, having been earnestly done, let us gratefully accept the work, and now that its authors are no more, let us hope that its pedantry will have no imitators to vulgarise what has been a nobly executed task.

There is no reason to consider the books which Mr. Ricketts and Mr. Shannon began to issue in 1893 from the Vale, Chelsea, as imitating the newly established Kelmscott Press. Their partial similarity is rather due to the natural confluence of ideas amongst men, when strong convictions arise, preparatory to united action. A new interest in the printer's craft was vaguely in the air about that time, and its practical outcome resulted in these two undertakings. The individual character of each is sufficiently manifest to rebut any serious charge of plagiarism against Mr. Ricketts, whose personal distinction as an artist raises him above any such imputation. The primary difference of attitude between the two printers is seen at a glance, and is nothing less than the difference in culture and temperament between Germany and Italy in the fifteenth century. Guided by a wise instinct, Mr. Ricketts chose to animate his work with the gracious and delicate spirit of the Italian Renaissance.

In size the books of the Vale Press are generally more slender and dainty volumes than those of William Morris. The 'Daphnis and Chloe,' the earliest and largest of the books with woodcuts by Mr. Shannon and Mr. Ricketts, is a thin, elegantly proportioned quarto, not too heavy for the hands of those who read or scan its decorated pages. In its design and that of the 'Hero and Leander,' published a year later, the technicalities of the old printers

are visible both in the initial letters and the outlined woodcuts. The printing is restrained, unaffected, and pleasant to read, and, although the type is open and of quite modern appearance, it harmonises sufficiently with the somewhat thick lines of the woodcuts. In the later volumes the added thickness to the type and consequent blackness of the page, are more tiring to the eye ; and, what is worse, the printing becomes more ornamental and intricate, verging upon obscurity. We feel that the energy of a newly acquired ambition has inclined Mr. Ricketts to overdo his work from excess of zeal. However, the lasting attraction of the ‘Daphnis and Chloe’ is to be found in the woodcuts, and although on principle their antique style is objectionable, we unfeignedly admire them, both in themselves and as a beautiful decoration to the page ; and being both drawn and cut by the artists, they possess a value which can never belong to the blocks of the Kelmscott Press. Avowedly imitated from the early Italian woodcuts, they not infrequently surpass their prototypes, and are full of delightful inventions and modern touches not to be found in any other books. The decorative device of carrying a continuous design across two pages is one which we do not recollect having seen elsewhere, and deserves to be repeated. There is a more human emotion in the scenes than in the older cuts, and above all the book has the delicious sentiment and glowing beauty of Italian art, and in spite of its poor paper this rare quarto is likely to remain an object of precious regard to the bibliophile for all time.

The collaboration of Mr. Shannon in the illustrations of the Vale Press has exercised the same sweetening influence upon its pages as upon everything which he touches. In one respect his genius is like that of Millais ; a perfect absorption of beauty is an inborn faculty of his nature, infusing his work with an unfailing and indescribable grace, equally conspicuous in his paintings, his drawings, his woodcuts, and his lithographs. In the latter he has developed a surprising distinction of style, to which the resources of the stone are better adapted, and are worthier of his fine technical accomplishments, than the more obdurate medium of woodcutting. Before the appearance of the ‘Daphnis and Chloe,’ Mr. Shannon and Mr. Ricketts had begun to issue the ‘Dial,’ an occasional publication, similar in aim to the ‘Germ,’ or the more recent ‘Hobby Horse,’ edited by Mr. Macinurdo and Mr. Horne. It contains numerous original woodcuts, of varying interest, drawn and engraved

by the artists, but most people will join in a preference for the series of lithographs contributed by Mr. Shannon.

The leap from the end of the fifteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, is scarcely less significant in the history of book illustration than the short step from the woodcuts of forty years ago to the contemporary process-block. Now for the first time, manual art has entirely given place to a mechanical and unintelligent operation. And the unattractive assemblage of drawings reproduced by some of the photographic processes on exhibition at South Kensington is an unpleasant revelation of the latest developement of demand and supply. Work of this class being principally affected by cheapness, unlimited multiplication of copies, and rapidity in the means of printing, it mostly goes to feed the voracious system of journalism and commerce, which bores us with a daily output of illustration, exceeding the capacity of our waste-paper baskets. At first sight it might be questioned whether this inordinate supply of pictorial art is not made in response to a purely supposititious demand, but on reflection it is clear that the arrival of our illustrated journals is an agreeable event in the lives of more families than we care to count, so that the process-methods only too plainly reflect our taste, the standard of workmanship which satisfies us, and the particular talents of the illustrator who adopts them.

When English illustration, within the last decade, took a new and aggressive shape in the pages of the 'Yellow Book' and the 'Savoy,' Beardsley and a few other young men were found ready to submit their work to the uncertainties and vagaries of the process-printer. To Beardsley the illustration of books was not an incidental by-play, but the one serious purpose of a pathetically short career. His manner of drawing, a convention of pure line contrasted with black or opaque washes, quite flat, without half-tones or gradations, was perhaps an influence of the new mode of printing. In this technique are the distinguishing properties and limitations of the early woodcuts of Italy and Japan; yet with these primitive materials he re-created a new art, half ornamental, at one time intricate, extravagant and artificial, at another, severely reticent and concentrated, and at its best with a mysterious and impressive power which is unlike all other men's work. Nearly all his drawings were made with a view to reproduction by photography, and as he drew them it not infrequently happens that they have neither the finality of a finished work, made for its own sake, nor have

the prints the quality which belongs to an original. Herein lies one of the baneful evils conspicuous in the work throughout the exhibition at South Kensington, where we see many specimens of an execrable form of draughtsmanship evoked by the exigencies of the process-block.

The chief objection to the new printing is not that it is mechanical, but that its mechanism is unequal to reproduce the refinements of a delicate drawing. An instance of its failure is particularly noticeable in Beardsley's design, '*Les Revenants de Musique*.' A dark-haired youth, with a face of intense gravity, having the inward look of a man who is seeing a vision, sits on a chair so slender that it must be made of bronze or silver. Three ghostly figures rise up before him. One has the beauty of a young girl; another approaches with a mocking gesture and the grimace of evil which lurks in so many of his drawings. Wholly fantastic, decorative and abstract, this design has the rare and deeper sensibility which gives Beardsley a place amongst the few notable draughtsmen of his time. The delicacy and essence of the drawing are utterly lost in the reproduction, but it is creditable to Beardsley that he did not omit with his pen those subtleties which could not be photographed in the print.

It is a relief to turn from the unfruitful processes to a book illustrated with etched plates, and it will be of some interest to contrast the claims of a book of simple structure with 'the elaborately decorative printing of the Kelmscott and Vale Presses. Mr. Binyon and Mr. Strang have collaborated to produce such a volume. And it convincingly proves the supremacy of the etcher in spite of all that photography and mechanical art can do to cheapen and multiply the means of reproduction. The book is a tall folio by a man of letters and an artist giving their impressions of Western Flanders through the medium of their several arts. Mr. Binyon describes his contribution as 'a medley of things seen, considered, and imagined,' and conveys to us in a series of essays a picture of the scenery and landscape of the Netherlands, some historical episodes, picturesque and noteworthy ceremonies and customs of the people, with many reflexions, critical and romantic, suggested by the countless beauties and singularities of the country. These essays in prose are the work of a charming poet, and are both attractive and varied in their interest and form; but it is with the etchings that we are concerned here.

The size of the book has been obviously determined by the extent of the longer plates. The type is of the normal kind characteristic of the nineteenth century, and its form only fails when ornamentation is attempted, as in the initial letters or the arrangement of the title-page. The illustrations are simply interleaved with the letterpress, distinct from it, having a personal identity of their own. Yet, as adornments and comments upon the text, they lose nothing by this decorative isolation, but rather acquire a certain importance, and we are made to value each plate for its intrinsic worth as an individual product. For this reason we also demand more from the artist who offers his work apart from that of the printer or even the author. He claims more, and must expect a keener criticism, as well as a larger appreciation.

In Mr. Strang's etchings we have an art corresponding to the modern spirit of the text, with which its individuality is as closely related as though its form had an outward consonance with the lettered page, and it possesses the masterly quality which justifies its reception on an equality with fine literature. Unlike the woodcuts of the Kelmscott and Vale Presses, Mr. Strang's plates are impressed with the technical methods of mature art. The view of the 'Ramparts of 'Ypres,' illustrating the site of an imaginary dialogue, admirably fulfils the modern conception of a landscape. It reveals the stillness and self-centred repose of the old town enclosed by its broad walls extending in a long line 'across the horizon. And the grove of dark trees and the deeply shaded recesses of the walls show a full appreciation of the etcher's use of black. Again, whilst Mr. Binyon was in the Hospital Gallery of Bruges, wondering at the saints enjoying martyrdom in Memling's pictures, Mr. Strang was out of doors etching the Ghent Gate. This is, perhaps, the most robust and impressive of the series. The bridge and the two flanking towers of the gateway rising out of the water, are a fine architectural group, vividly realised in the strong shadowy composition of the plate. Another landscape depicts a solitary and sandy region bordering on the sea, called the Dunes. It does not look like a wholly barren country, but the black valley, with its rugged bank, stretching indefinitely out of sight, has something of the spectral aspect which Mr. Binyon describes. Rarely do we see such a curiously vivid picture as that of the 'Religious Procession of Furnes.' Here Mr. Strang's mind has had the opportunity of seizing upon homely types of men and women

momentarily moved by, to them, a great occasion. The mixture of profound piety, self-importance, and awkwardness, with which these simple townspeople pass along, is a triumph of characterisation. A grave seriousness is the predominating note, but it is seriousness decorated and dressed in its best, and symbolically tending to gaiety.

Rembrandt has taught us that etching is the most spontaneous of all methods of engraving, and that its resources are inexhaustible. In his prints we see a unique manifestation of skill so daring and brilliant as to be almost incredible. For delicacy and minute finish, for strength and purity of line, for the rich luminous quality of blackness, and for the exquisite gradations of light mingling with the deeply bitten shadows, his work is without a parallel and remains an example of perfection to this day. Etching, therefore, is the one excellent means of reproduction and must, until a better is discovered, be the most precious form of illustration.

**ART. XI.—1. Speech of the Right Hon. St. John Brodrick,
Secretary of State for War, in the House of Commons,
March 8, 1901.**

2. My Experiences of the Boer War. By Count STEENBERG.
Translated from the German, with an introduction by
Lieut.-Col. G. F. R. HENDERSON, late Director of Intelli-
gence Head-quarters Staff, South Africa. Longmans &
Co. London : 1901.

THOUGH the Opposition has spent much time in denouncing the action of Ministers of the Crown in dissolving Parliament last October, alleging with great vehemence and continued repetition that the moment was chosen on grounds of an electioneering rather than of a patriotic nature, and that the issue was unfairly laid before the electorate, it has not occurred to any statesman to dispute the meaning of the verdict which the country has given.

The nation has declared its wishes most unmistakeably. First, the South African War was to be brought to a victorious conclusion at the earliest possible date, cost what it might. Secondly, measures were to be taken to reorganise the armed strength of the Empire, so as to make its position as far as may be impregnable in the face of possible hostility on the part of foreign Powers. These being beyond all dispute the objects upon which the minds of most Englishmen last autumn were bent, it is not surprising that an overwhelming majority was given at the polls in support of the only statesmen who would, or by any possibility could, give them effect. The electors acted, in short, like practical and patriotic men. They looked at the situation as it stood, without bothering their heads overmuch as to how they got there. The present and the future, not the past, was their chief concern. They did their part, and it lies with the Government and the majority entrusted with the popular confidence to do theirs.

The circumstances of the last year and a half have assuredly been such as to justify the concentration of the public mind upon the supreme necessity of adding to the defensive strength of the Empire. Politicians who speak and write as if it were in the power of a wise ministry to render the nation secure against all danger merely by following 'a policy of peace' delude themselves, and their advice would, if the country listened to it, indefinitely increase the prospect as well as the risks of war. A nation and an

Empire such as ours cannot trust its security to the good-will of its neighbours. For the past sixty years the Crown has been advised by prudent statesmen, on the whole sincerely attached to peace, which they have considered almost the highest interest of the British people, yet throughout that period hardly half a dozen years have passed without the nation having thought itself within a measurable distance of war. The most formidable of our wars, and the most conspicuous of our recent additions to the Empire, were made, the one whilst the country was under the guidance of Lord Aberdeen, the other whilst it was under that of Mr. Gladstone. We shall not find future statesmen more averse from war than Lord Aberdeen, more averse from extensions of the Empire than Mr. Gladstone. Diplomacy, said Mr. Balfour very truly in a recent debate, cannot be a substitute for arms. Diplomacy, without power behind it, is nothing but a broken reed, upon which no wise man would ever lean; but to realise this is not to admit that foolish fatalism which would fold its hands in the face of conflicting interests and of national jars and heated tempers, and helplessly allow angry popular disputation to lead men into wars against which all sound policy would protest. Diplomacy is no substitute for a powerful army, neither will a powerful army and a mighty fleet enable us to dispense with a prudent statesmanship and a wise diplomacy.

The problem of the adequate defence of the Empire does not present itself to the ordinary mind as one for which statesmanship should have extreme difficulty in finding a solution. We have no land frontiers to defend, with the exception of the north-west frontier of India and the southern frontier of Canada. The great colonies are inhabited by rapidly increasing populations of our fellow-subjects, full of high spirit and patriotic ardour, and are nowadays, as recent events have shown, not a burden, but a source of additional strength, to the Mother Country in time of war. Where the Empire in the first instance is vulnerable is, of course, in its trade and commerce, and by the nature of the case the defence of these must depend upon the strength of the Navy. No one supposes that towards the defence of the great self-governing colonies beyond the seas the Home Army will be able, or will be called upon, to render direct material assistance. Mr. Brodrick, in introducing the Army Estimates last month, put our normal demands for India and the Colonies at 115,000 men; of which it will be remembered that the British troops in India to the

number of nearly 80,000 are maintained at the cost of the Indian revenues. According to the wise system which now prevails, British troops are not, as they once were, scattered throughout the whole Empire, the greater colonies having taken over the burden of their own land defence. Outside India, the Mediterranean stations and Egypt, the sole duty of British troops stationed beyond the seas is to defend a certain number of harbours and coaling-stations against sudden enterprises by an enemy who may temporarily have escaped the vigilance of a British fleet. Of course if that fleet has been defeated beyond the power of rallying, no defence on the part of the garrisons of such places can prevent their ultimate capture by the Power which is supreme at sea. Indeed, permanent supremacy at sea over our enemies is the *sine qua non* of Imperial and national defence, and this marks the vital distinction between our own defensive position and that of every other Great Power. Naval supremacy might, indeed, be lost temporarily or locally, as has happened in the past, and for the time our garrisons would have to do as they have done in the past and maintain themselves. More than this, by the nature of the case, they cannot do.

The South African war has had the effect, rightly or wrongly, of convincing the popular mind of the inadequacy of our national defences. A British army of 200,000 men has been straining every nerve to defeat a comparatively small number of irregular troops, the armed and mounted male population of a couple of little Dutch republics; and far too little consideration has been given by the public to the fact that the balance of inequality in point of numbers was redressed by the advantage to the defenders due to the enormous area over which our armies have had to operate, and the great length of the lines of communication which they have had to guard. The work, not merely of defeating but of conquering a high-spirited nation of European blood was on our side, from the beginning, strangely underestimated; and we all hope that business of so difficult and deplorable a kind will not again claim the services of a British army. But in any case the absence beyond the seas of an expeditionary army of such a size must for the time greatly weaken the home military power of the nation. Naturally and properly therefore, Englishmen last year became anxious as to what might happen were we involved in war with a Power more formidable than the citizens of the two republics. Had one of the great military nations of the

Continent embraced the cause of the Boers, the position of the country would no doubt have been a very serious one ; and we rejoice to think that the electors have now realised the necessity of setting their statesmen to work to reorganise the mighty strength which, for defensive purposes, is undoubtedly possessed by the British people.

On the other hand, there are those who allow the special circumstances of the South African war to lull them into a false security. It would be unwise to place too much reliance on the glib talk of the day as to the superiority of irregular over regular troops, on men who depreciate the steadiness that comes from drill, and even the advantages that belong to discipline, and who assure us that with modern weapons victory will always be on the side of the defence. An invading army once landed upon the southern shores of England would have before it a very different problem from that presented to Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener north of the Orange River. The unmistakeable demand of the public is a most reasonable one, that the due safeguarding of the nation and empire requires that measures of precaution on a much larger scale than heretofore should be adopted, or at least that a complete system of defence should be thoroughly thought out, and that the country should know exactly where it stands. These are the expectations which Mr. Brodrick and Lord Roberts will do their best to satisfy. And they may rest assured that in any well-considered reforms they will be heartily supported by the people.

Before entering upon his own schemes of reform Mr. Brodrick cast his eye back to 'the last awakening' in matters military, consequent upon the great object-lesson of the Franco-German war. It is true, as he said, that few English statesmen have been more abused than Mr. Cardwell. His reforms were resisted by much narrow and bitter professional prejudice, and every difficulty was thrown in their way by the then Opposition. But Mr. Gladstone was firm, and his party united. Purchase was abolished ; short service was established ; a reserve was started, which grew, as years went on, to 80,000 men. And now Mr. Brodrick tells us that it is owing to the Cardwell reforms of thirty years ago that in the present war we have been enabled to send out and maintain in the field an army of 150,000 efficient regular soldiers. The great merit of the reforms consisted in their conformity with our special national conditions and necessities. It was then believed that the

country would not maintain a permanently large army always ready for war, and Mr. Cardwell's endeavour, therefore, was to provide a system under which, on an emergency, our small army could be rapidly increased by the addition of a large number of well-trained and efficient soldiers. Well might Mr. Brodrick declare that our debt to Lord Cardwell's memory was great indeed ! But another great military reformer of those days is still with us, and the omission of any recognition by the Secretary of State of what the army and nation owe to Lord Wolseley must be accounted the least happy feature in a generally admirable speech. Throughout a life devoted to the army the late Commander-in-Chief has fought the battle of reform against strong influences of every kind from above and from below, and some, at least, of the credit given by Mr. Brodrick to Lord Cardwell history will rightly attribute to the never-failing energy and the great ability of Lord Wolseley.

Mr. Brodrick proposes to develope the existing military systems of the country rather than to organise on new lines. We are concerned on this occasion principally with his aims, not with his detailed measures for attaining them. Now, as has been said, in normal times the Secretary of State looks to a British army of 115,000 men as sufficient for India and the Colonies. But he says truly that 'we cannot keep out, ' of mind the possibility of having to send out a large force 'to defend our possessions ; nor can we suppose that if ever 'we should unhappily become entangled in European com- 'plications we could fulfil our engagements to our allies by 'limiting our operations solely to the action of our fleet, 'keeping our soldiers in barracks at home.' Therefore he proposes, besides providing for home defence, to have ready for immediate despatch abroad 'three army corps, with 'proper reserves'—that is, a force of 120,000 men. Here, then, we have the whole of Mr. Brodrick's requirements as regards troops to be employed beyond the seas.

There has been some cavilling as to the necessity or expediency of maintaining so large a force as 120,000 men for employment beyond seas in view of 'European compli- 'cations,' but here we entirely share the views of Mr. Brodrick. Anyone who has the slightest acquaintance with our past history or of the temper of mind of the British nation in time of war, will recognise the impossibility of confining the assistance which we may render to our allies, or of limiting the blows which we may deal to an enemy, entirely to the naval arm. And, as in these days an army

of 120,000 men cannot be raised and trained at short notice, it is highly desirable that we should exercise a little fore-thought, and provide ourselves beforehand with that best means of defence, which consists in the power, if need be, to strike.

Thus according to the Secretary of State the nation should be prepared, in the event of war, to maintain across the seas an army of 235,000 men. Of course, at the present moment we are employing in South Africa, India, Egypt, and the garrisons abroad a very much larger number of troops than this, of one sort or another, drawn from various elements and from various districts of the Empire. In addition to this force of 235,000 men, the whole of it employed, if need be, abroad, Mr. Brodrick contemplates a purely home force consisting of Regulars, Reserves, Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers, exceeding in number 500,000 men, after making large deductions for sick and recruits. Our military 'grand totals' are as usual highly impressive; and perhaps they are somewhat dangerous as raising in the popular mind an entirely erroneous belief as to the magnitude of the army which we can really put in the field. In 1897, long before the late emergencies had summoned men from all parts of the Empire to the Colours, General Maurice, in his book on national defences, gave the total number of the army and other land forces of the Crown, including 73,000 British troops in India, at nearly 720,000 men, every one of whom was serving voluntarily, some with pay and some without. Of these, in round numbers, 230,000 were Regulars and in the Reserve, 73,000 were in India, 150,000 were Militia and Yeomanry, and 260,000 were Volunteers.

Mr. Brodrick puts plainly the all-important question, 'Is our Army in future for home defence to be a voluntary army, or is it to be recruited by compulsion?' It is only for home defence that the question arises, as it is conceded on all hands that conscripts cannot be employed for Indian or other foreign service, and that to that extent at least the Army must remain voluntary. Mr. Brodrick says with truth that 'the voluntary system for home defence is not a thing to be proud of, unless you get an efficient defence;' and he then limits his adhesion to the voluntary system by the condition that under it 'a force can be obtained with which our military authorities can satisfy the Government that they have sufficient force to resist invasion, and they can maintain it to their satisfaction.'

This important question cannot, however, be regarded as one for military experts alone. Doubtless many distinguished soldiers, though certainly not all, would like to assimilate our military system to the systems of the Continent, making, of necessity, exceptional provision for the Army of India. Compulsory ballot for the Militia, a limited conscription, seems to them so simple and so effective a means of getting what they believe to be essential to the safety of the country, that they hardly have the patience to consider the weight of the reasoning against it. Of course if the kingdom cannot be adequately defended without conscription, conscription we must have. There we are all agreed. But surely a population of some forty millions in the British Islands, whose spirit is equal to sending 300,000 men, every one of them serving voluntarily, to South Africa, India, and the Colonies, can, if it is shown the necessity for it, raise an army of 500,000 willing men to defend their own homes. After a year which has given us 140,000 voluntary recruits, it would, indeed, be a singular proceeding to inaugurate a system of compulsion. We should have been glad had Mr. Brodrick sounded in this matter a clearer note. Englishmen on both sides of the Atlantic have their own ways of doing their own business, and they cannot be forced into Continental moulds. An army of conscripts for the defence of England, we shall not see, for the simple reason that till the spirit of Englishmen has declined we shall not need compulsion to fill the ranks. It is, we believe, a healthy instinct which trusts 'the freeman's arm 'to save the freeman's laws.' This instinct and spirit form one of the main elements of our national strength; and to it statesmen may safely appeal in the future, as they have done in the past, to make every effort which the security of the country may require. It is for them and their military advisers to consider, with due regard to our national character, the best means of obtaining the best material for our home army. The labourer is worthy of his hire, and the public is quite prepared to pay whatever our statesmen may prove to be necessary for the adequate defence of the country by sea and land.

As regards the question of conscript *versus* volunteer we would call the attention of our readers to the best comment that has yet been published on the ignorant and ill-conditioned criticism recently poured by foreign writers upon British soldiering in the South African war. Colonel Henderson knows Continental armies well, and the history of

Continental wars. The great Civil War in America he has studied deeply, and in his 'Life of Stonewall Jackson' he has given us one of the best military biographies in the language. His experience, and the high place he held on the staff of Lord Roberts, entitle him, if anyone, to the hearing of soldiers not less than of civilians. What then does he tell us, in his introduction to Count Sternberg's interesting and impartial 'Experiences of the Boer War'?

He states that whatever the percentage of casualties 'our battalions never lost their *moral*.' As success seemed further off, and ranks grew thinner, the only effect on the men was to increase their resolution.

'Let the critics of our soldiers ponder these facts; let them recall the fine marching and patient endurance of the half-starved regiments, and if they still see no cause to doubt the superiority of the conscript they know little of war. . . . What foreign soldiers cannot, or perhaps will not, see is that the war in South Africa, like the war in the Peninsula and the Civil War in America, is a triumph for the principle of voluntary service. The *moral* of conscript armies has always been their weakest point; and it is the hope that the *moral* of the volunteer is no longer of a higher type that accounts for unwarrantable inferences and the unscrupulous manipulation of flimsy evidence.'

Mr. Brodrick's specific proposals will receive ample discussion before they are ripe for carrying into effect. As to the plan of organising the British army on a basis of army corps rather than of divisions, a system naturally adopted in the armies of the Continent, there is a good deal to be said on both sides of the question; and the same holds good as to other proposals—to employ much more largely than heretofore Indian troops out of India, to garrison some of our principal fortresses with soldiers considered to be too old for service in the field, to raise the strength of the Militia by half as much again, to add 25,000 men to the Yeomanry, and to better the training of the Volunteers so that a considerable number of battalions may be brigaded with regular troops. All these questions have to be considered in their practical bearing, and it is difficult to see how any real beginning to carry them out can be made till the present war is ended.

We are, however, convinced that the more Mr. Brodrick's speech is studied the more the public will approve the estimates made by him and by Lord Roberts of the military requirements of the country. In a matter of such vital importance we cannot afford to run risks. To say this is not to undervalue our naval strength, or to lose sight of

the fact that on the ultimate success of the Navy is dependent our national safety. Even if we possessed the most formidable army in the world, where should we be after the overthrow of our naval power? Of our naval position we treat elsewhere. It is no light task to maintain a navy equal to performing the manifold duties that will devolve upon it in time of war, and it is only prudent to take securities against the temporary failure or beguilement of the fleet. Naval warfare under modern conditions may bring us many surprises, whilst it is quite certain that in themselves the operations of collecting, embarking, transporting and landing a large body of troops have been enormously facilitated. 'If,' said Mr. Brodrick, 'there could be any certainty in warfare'—and he was then speaking of naval warfare—'we might dispense with our army of home defence altogether. It may be that invasion is an off chance, but you cannot run an Empire of this extent on an off chance.' The probable effect of really adequate measures of dealing with an army landed upon our shores would be to prevent any invasion taking place at all. The greatness of the object to be attained might tempt an enemy to run the great risk which would in any case attend upon invasion. A few miles' march upon an unfortified capital, which no measures had in advance been taken to defend, might present an almost irresistible attraction to an enemy which only for a few days was reasonably secure against naval defeat in the Channel. There is no adequate cause for want of preparedness on our part. To make our country absolutely safe organisation and forethought are all that are wanted. In position, in numbers, in the spirit of the people, and in the means to utilise all these in defence of the country, ministers have to hand, surely, everything that the heart of man can desire. Before the present Parliament is at an end it is not too much to hope that the difficulties of national defence will have been surmounted, and that the mighty strength of the Empire will have been so organised as to make it safe against any combination of foes.

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by leaping an enclosure, might easily make a much shorter path to the main body than he could find on horseback. Unable to contain himself, he commanded Alick to go to the Baron of Bradwardine, who was at the head of his regiment about half a mile in front, and acquaint him with what had happened. He himself immediately rode up to Fergus's regiment. The Chief himself was in the act of joining them. He was on horseback, having returned from waiting on the Prince. On perceiving Edward approaching, he put his horse in motion towards him.

‘Colonel Mac-Ivor,’ said Waverley, without any farther salutation, ‘I have to inform you, that one of your people has this instant fired at me from a lurking-place.’

‘As that,’ answered Mac-Ivor, ‘excepting the circumstance of a lurking-place, is a pleasure which I prescntly propose to myself. I should be glad to know which of my clansmen dared to anticipate me.’

‘I shall certainly be at your command whenever you please;—the gentleman who took your office upon himself is your page there, Callum Beg.’

‘Stand forth from the ranks, Callum! Did you fire at Mr. Waverley?’

‘No,’ answered the unblushing Callum.

‘You did,’ said Alick Polwarth, who was already returned, having met a trooper by whom he dispatched an account of what was going forward to the Baron of Bradwardine, while he himself returned to his master at full gallop, neither sparing the rowels of his spurs, nor the sides of his horse.

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